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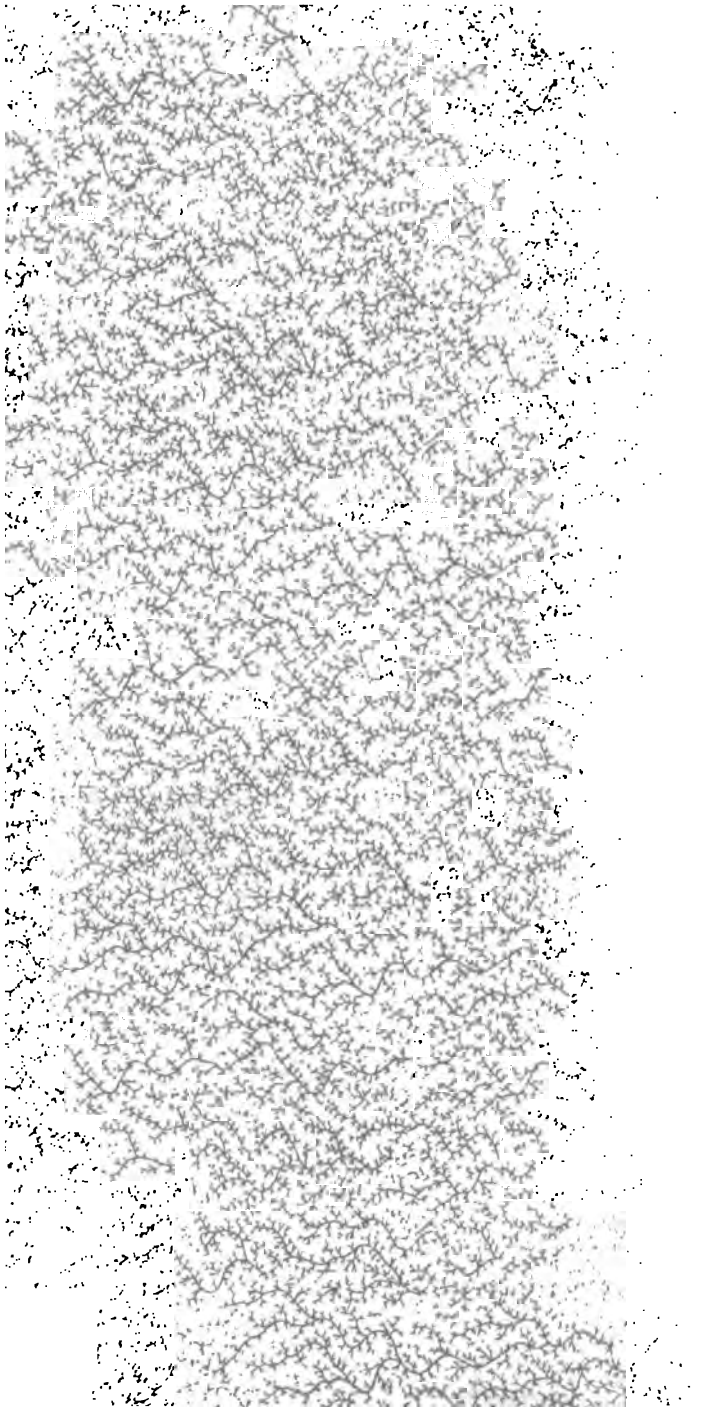

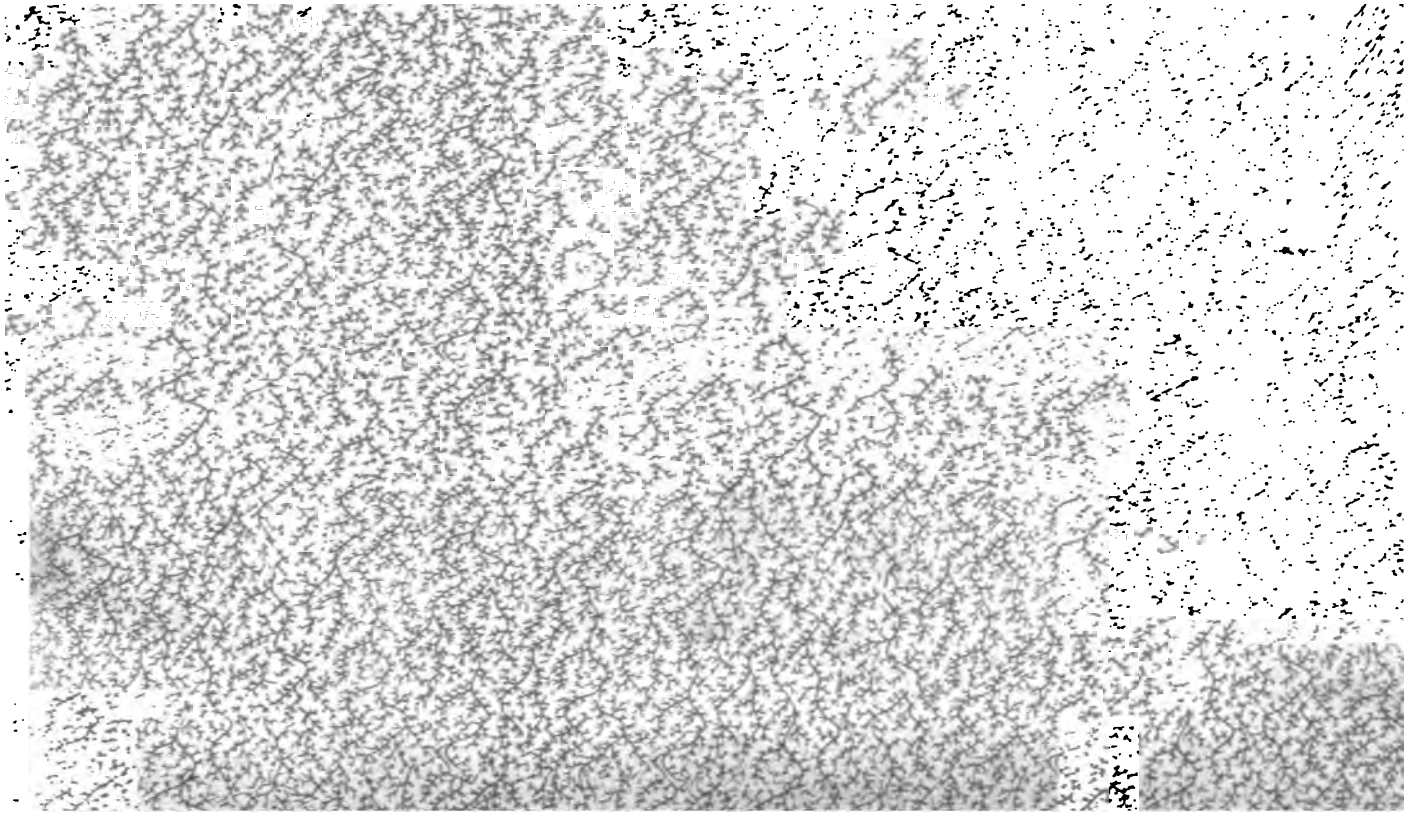

THE

# WORKS

OF

# Dr. Jonathan Swift,

## Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

## VOLUME VIII.

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# THE EXAMINER.

## NUMBER XIII.

Thurſday, November 2, 1710.

*—— longa eſt injuria, longae*
*Ambages; ſed ſumma ſequar faſtigia rerum.*

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converſe in equal freedom with the deſerving men of both parties; and it was never without ſome contempt, that I have obſerved perſons wholly out of employment affect to do otherwiſe. I doubted, whether any man could owe ſo much to the ſide he was of, although he were retained by it; but without ſome great point of intereſt, either in poſſeſſion or proſpect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow ſpirit.

It is hard, that for ſome weeks paſt I have been forced in my own defence to follow a proceeding, that I have ſo much condemned in others. But ſeveral of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown ſo inſufferably peeviſh and ſplenetick, profeſs ſuch violent apprehenſions

for the publick, and repreſent the ſtate of things in ſuch formidable ideas, that I find myſelf diſpoſed to ſhare in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundleſs and imaginary, or, which is worſe, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endleſs, but a diſobliging taſk. Some of them, I am convinced, would be leſs melancholy if there were more occaſion. I ſhall therefore, inſtead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ ſome part of this paper for the future in letting ſuch men ſee, that their natural or acquired fears are ill-grounded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended; that all our preſent inconveniences are the conſequence of the very counſels they ſo much admire, which would ſtill have encreaſed if thoſe had continued; and that neither our conſtitution in church or ſtate could probably have been long preſerved without ſuch methods, as have been already taken.

THE late revolutions at court have given room to ſome ſpecious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men,

juſt as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worſe deſigns. They wonder, the QUEEN would chuſe to change her miniſtry at this juncture, and thereby give uneaſineſs to a general, who hath been ſo long ſucceſsful abroad, and might think himſelf injured, if the entire miniſtry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any conſequence againſt the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which on the contrary paſſed votes in favour of the chief miniſter; that, if her majeſty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more ſeaſonable after a peace, which now we have made deſperate by ſpiriting the *French*, who rejoice at theſe changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, ſo untimely diſſolved, had been diligent in their ſupplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one conſequence of theſe changes appears already in the fall of the ſtocks; that we may ſoon expect more and worſe; and laſtly, that all this naturally tends to break

the ſettlement of the crown, and call over the *Pretender*.

Theſe, and the like notions, are plentifully ſcattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the QUEEN and her adminiſtration odious, and to inflame the nation. And theſe are what, upon occaſion, I ſhall endeavour to overthrow by diſcovering the falſhood and abſurdity of them.

It is a great unhappineſs, when in a government conſtituted like ours it ſhould be ſo brought about, that the continuance of a war muſt be for the intereſt of vaſt numbers (civil, as well as military) who otherwiſe would have been as unknown, as their original. I think our preſent condition of affairs is admirably deſcribed by two verſes in *Lucan:*

*Hinc uſura vorax, avidumque in tempore foenus,*
*Hinc concuſſa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

Which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus tranſlated:

*Hence are derived thoſe exorbitant intereſts and annuities; hence thoſe large diſcounts for advance*

*advance and prompt payment; hence publick credit is ſhaken; and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war.*

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourſelves, there ſhould ſo many be found to cloſe in with thoſe counſels, who have been ever averſe from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great myſtery in the matter. Let any man obſerve the equipages in this town, he ſhall find the greater number of thoſe, who make a figure, to be a ſpecies of men quite different from any, that were ever known before the revolution; conſiſting either of generals and colonels, or of thoſe, whoſe whole fortunes lie in funds and ſtocks; ſo that *power*, which according to the old maxim was uſed to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money*; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whoſe eſtate a ſcrivener receives half the rents for intereſt, and hath a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagancies, while there is any thing left. So that if the war continue ſome years longer, a landed man will be little better

than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the publick funds.

It may perhaps be worth enquiring, from what beginnings and by what ſteps we have been brought into this deſperate condition: and in ſearch of this we muſt run up as high as the revolution.

Moſt of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the prince of *Orange*, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate; and were brought to yield to thoſe breaches in the ſucceſſion of the crown, out of a regard to the neceſſity of the kingdom and the ſafety of the people, which did, and could only, make them lawful; but without intention of drawing ſuch a practice into precedent, or making it a ſtanding meaſure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counſels ever tended to keep things, as much as poſſible, in the old courſe. But ſoon after, and under a ſett of men, who had nothing to loſe, and had neither borne the burthen nor heat of the day, found means to whiſper in the king's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the

the church of *England* were wholly inconſiſtent with the *revolution*. Hence began the early practice of careſſing the Diſſenters, reviling the univerſities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *paſſive obedience*, and *non-reſiſtance*. At the ſame time, in order to faſten wealthy people to the new government, they propoſed thoſe pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vaſt *premiums*, and at exorbitant intereſt: a practice as old as *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* captains, who, ſetting up for himſelf after the death of his maſter, perſuaded his principal officers to lend him great ſums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own ſecurity.

This introduced a number of new dextrous men into buſineſs and credit. It was argued, that the war could not laſt above two or three campaigns; and that it was eaſier for the ſubjects to raiſe a fund for paying intereſt, than to tax them annually to the full expence of the war. Several perſons, who had ſmall or incumbered eſtates, ſold them, and turned their mo-

ney into thoſe funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, purſued the ſame method. But the war continuing, and growing more expenſive, taxes were increaſed, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monſtrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at firſt a corruption, is at laſt grown neceſſary, and what every good ſubject muſt now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wiſh it might ſoon have an end; becauſe it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that uſed to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the riſe and fall of ſtocks: and although the foundation of credit be ſtill the ſame, and upon a bottom that can never be ſhaken, and although all intereſt be duly paid by the publick; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of *ſtock-jobbers*, there hath been brought in ſuch a complication of knavery and cozenage, ſuch a myſtery of iniquity, and ſuch an unintelligible jargon of terms

to

to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed by perſons ſkilled in theſe calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of intereſt and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-ſhilling aid ſtrictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, ſupply the occaſions of the war; at leaſt ſuch a part as, in the opinion of very able perſons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a queſtion, Whether any wiſe prince or ſtate in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defenſive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propoſe that his expence ſhould perpetually exceed what he was able to impoſe annually upon his ſubjects? Neither if the war laſt many years longer, do I ſee how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the courſe of human affairs, and according to the various intereſts and ambition of princes, may be as neceſſary for them, as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children,

children, I appeal to any man, what ſort of figure we ſhould have been able to make theſe twenty years paſt. Beſides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the ſame foot with us in this particular. *France* and *Holland*, our neareſt neighbours, and the fartheſt engaged, will much ſooner recover themſelves after a war: the firſt by the abſolute power of the prince, who being maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and ſo will the other, by their prudent adminiſtration, the greatneſs of their trade, their wonderful parſimony, the willingneſs of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their juſtice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all we are to conſider, that *France* and *Holland* fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greateſt part of the money circulates among themſelves; whereas ours croſſes the ſea, either to *Flanders*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, and every penny of it, whether in ſpecie or returns, is ſo much loſt to the nation for ever.

Upon

Upon theſe conſiderations alone, it was the moſt prudent courſe imaginable in the QUEEN, to lay hold of the diſpoſition of the people for changing the parliament and miniſtry at this juncture, and extricating herſelf as ſoon as poſſible out of the pupillage of thoſe, who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but the enſuing parliament will aſſiſt her MAJESTY with the utmoſt vigour, until her enemies again be brought to ſue for peace, and *again* offer ſuch terms as will make it both honourable and laſting; only with this difference, that the miniſtry perhaps will not *again* refuſe them.

*Audiet pugnas vitio parentum*
*Rara Juventus.*

## NUMBER XIV.

Thurſday, November 9, 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent ſermonibus aures,*
*Hi narrata ferunt alio: menſuraque ficti*
*Creſcit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.*
*Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,*
*Vanaque Laetitia eſt, conſternatique Timores,*
*Seditioque recens, dubioque autore Suſurri.*

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the ſcheme I had begun in my laſt paper, by an Eſſay upon the art of *Political Lying*. We are told *the devil is the father of lyes*, and *was a lyar from the beginning*; ſo that beyond contradiction the invention is old: and, which is more, his firſt Eſſay of it was purely *political*, employed in undermining the authority of his prince, and ſeducing a third part of the ſubjects from their obedience; for which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as *Milton* expreſſeth it) he had been VICEROY of a great *weſtern province*; and forced to exerciſe his talent in inferior regions among *other fallen*

*fallen ſpirits*, or *poor deluded men*, whom he ſtill daily tempts to *his own ſin*, and will ever do ſo, till he be *chained in the bottomleſs pit*.

But although the devil be the father of *lyes*, he ſeems, like other great inventors, to have loſt much of his reputation by the continual improvements, that have been made upon him.

Who firſt reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politicks*, is not ſo clear from hiſtory; although I have made ſome diligent enquiries. I ſhall therefore conſider it only according to the modern ſyſtem, as it hath been cultivated theſe twenty years paſt in the ſouthern part of our own iſland.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the *earth* in revenge produced her laſt offſpring, which was *Fame*. And the fable is thus interpreted; That when tumults and ſeditions are quieted, rumours and falſe reports are plentifully ſpread through a nation. So that by this account *lying* is the laſt relief of a *routed*, *earth-born*, *rebellious party* in a ſtate. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the

the gaining of power and preſerving it, as well as revenging themſelves after they have loſt it; as the ſame inſtruments are made uſe of by animals to feed themſelves when they are hungry, and to bite thoſe that tread upon them.

But the ſame genealogy cannot always be admitted for *political lying*; I ſhall therefore deſire to refine upon it, by adding ſome circumſtances of its birth and parents. A *political lye* is ſometimes born out of a diſcarded ſtateſman's head, and thence delivered to be nurſed and dandled by the *rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a monſter, and *licked* into ſhape: at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is ſpoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it; and often it ſees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and ſometimes the ſpawn of a *ſtock-jobber*. *Here* it ſcreams aloud at the opening of the womb; and *there* it is delivered with a *whiſper*. I know a *lye*, that now diſturbs half the kingdom with its noiſe, which, although too proud and great

at

at preſent to own its parents, I can remember its *whiſper-hood*. To conclude the nativity of this monſter; when it comes into the world without a *ſting*, it is ſtill-born; and whenever it loſes its *ſting*, it dies.

No wonder if an infant ſo miraculous in its birth ſhould be deſtined for great adventures; and accordingly we ſee it hath been the *guardian ſpirit* of a *prevailing party* for almoſt twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and ſometimes with the loſs of a battle. It gives and reſumes employments; can ſink a mountain to a mole-hill, and raiſe a mole-hill to a mountain; hath preſided for many years at committees of elections; can waſh a *black-a-moor* white; make a ſaint of an atheiſt, and a patriot of a profligate; can furniſh *foreign miniſters* with intelligence; and raiſe or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddeſs flies with a huge *looking-glaſs* in her hands to dazzle the croud, and make them ſee, according as ſhe turns it, their ruin in their intereſt, and their intereſt in their ruin. In this glaſs you will behold your beſt friends clad

in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns*, their girdles hung round with *chain*, and *beads*, and *wooden ſhoes*; and your worſt enemies adorned with the enſigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like thoſe of a flying fiſh, are of no uſe but while they are moiſt; ſhe therefore dips them in *mud*, and ſoaring aloft ſcatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great ſwiftneſs; but at every turn is forced to ſtoop in *dirty ways* for new ſupplies.

I have been ſometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *ſecond ſight* for ſeeing *lyes*, as they have in *Scotland* for ſeeing ſpirits, how admirably he might entertain himſelf in this town by obſerving the different ſhapes, ſizes, and colours of thoſe ſwarms of *lyes*, which buz about the heads of *ſome people*, like flies about a horſe's ears in ſummer; or thoſe legions hovering every afternoon in *Exchange-alley*, enough to darken the air; or over a club of diſcontented grandees, and thence ſent down in cargoes to be ſcattered at elections.

There

There is one eſſential point wherein a *political lyar* differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a ſhort memory, which is neceſſary according to the various occaſions he meets with every hour of differing from himſelf, and ſwearing to both ſides of a contradiction, as he finds the perſons diſpoſed, with whom he hath to deal. In deſcribing the virtues and vices of mankind it is convenient, upon every article, to have ſome eminent perſon in our eye, from whom we copy our deſcription. I have ſtrictly obſerved this rule; and my imagination this minute repreſents before me a certain *great man** famous for this talent, to the conſtant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the moſt ſkilful head in *England* for the management of nice affairs. The ſuperiority of his genius conſiſts in nothing elſe, but an inexhauſtible fund of *political lyes*, which he plentifully diſtributes every minute he ſpeaks, and by an unparallelled generoſity forgets, and conſequently contradicts, the next half hour.

* The late earl of *Wharton*.

He never yet conſidered, whether any propoſition were true or falſe, but whether it were convenient for the preſent minute or company to affirm or deny it; ſo that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he ſays, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are ſtill to ſeek, and will find yourſelf equally deceived whether you believe or no: the only remedy is to ſuppoſe, that you have heard ſome inarticulate ſounds without any meaning at all; and beſides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *propoſition*; although at the ſame time, I think, he cannot with any juſtice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes *God* and *Chriſt*; becauſe he hath often fairly given publick notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that ſuch an accompliſhment as this can be of no great uſe to the owner, or his party, after it hath been often practiſed and is become notorious; but they are widely miſtaken. Few *lyes* carry the inventor's mark, and the

the moſt proſtitute enemy to truth may ſpread a thouſand without being known for the author: beſides, as the vileſt writer hath his readers, ſo the greateſt *lyar* hath his believers: and it often happens, that if a *lye* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occaſion for it. *Falſhood flies*, and *truth* comes *limping* after it; ſo that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jeſt is over, and the tale has had its effect: like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the diſcourſe is changed, or the company parted; or like a phyſician, who hath found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Conſidering that natural diſpoſition in many men to *lye*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim ſo frequent in every body's mouth; that *truth will at laſt prevail*. Here hath this iſland of ours, for the greateſt part of twenty years, lain under the influence of ſuch counſels and perſons, whoſe principle and intereſt it was to corrupt our manners, blind our underſtanding, drain our wealth, and in time deſtroy

our conſtitution both in church and ſtate; and we at laſt were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual repreſentations, have never been able to diſtinguiſh between our enemies and friends. We have ſeen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of thoſe, who by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries; while others, who by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and ſucceſs to the revolution, were not only laid aſide as dangerous and uſeleſs, but loaden with the ſcandal of *Jacobites*, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *penſioners* to *France*; while truth, who is ſaid to *lie in a well*, ſeemed now to be buried there under a heap of ſtones. But I remember, it was an uſual complaint among the *Whigs*, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their intereſts, which ſome of the wiſeſt looked on as an ill omen; and we ſaw it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that they could preſerve a majority, while the court and miniſtry were on their ſide, till they had learned thoſe admirable expedients for de-

ciding elections, and influencing diſtant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and conſtraint, however upheld by moſt dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*, and the *monarchy* itſelf in danger; then we ſaw them greedily laying hold on the firſt occaſion to interpoſe. But of this mighty change in the diſpoſitions of the people I ſhall diſcourſe more at large in ſome following paper; wherein I ſhall endeavour to undeceive or diſcover thoſe deluded or deluding perſons, who hope or pretend, it is only a ſhort madneſs in the vulgar, from which they may ſoon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its cauſes, its ſymptoms, and its conſequences; and prove a great example to illuſtrate the maxim I lately mentioned; that *truth* (however, ſometimes late) *will at laſt prevail.*

## NUMBER XV.

Thurſday, November 16, 1710.

*— medioque ut limite curras,*
*Icare, ait, moneo: ne ſi demiſſior ibis,*
*Unda gravet pennas; ſi celſior, ignis adurat.*

IT muſt be avowed, that for ſome years paſt, there have been few things more wanted in *England* than ſuch a paper, as this ought to be: and ſuch as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it ſhall be found of any uſe, without entering into the violences of either party. Conſidering the many grievous miſrepreſentations of perſons and things, it is highly requiſite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom ſhould, if poſſible, be ſet right in their opinions by ſome impartial hand; which hath never been yet attempted; thoſe, who have hitherto undertaken it, being upon every account, the leaſt qualified of all human kind for ſuch a work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and diſcipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided

divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they diſagree about the means. The evils, we muſt fence againſt, are on one ſide fanaticiſm and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other ſide, popery, ſlavery, and the pretender from *France*. Now to inform and direct us in our ſentiments upon theſe weighty points here are on one ſide two ſtupid illiterate ſcriblers, both of them *fanaticks* by profeſſion, I mean the *Review* and *Obſervator*; on the other ſide, we have an open *Nonjuror*, whoſe character and perſon, as well as learning and good ſenſe diſcovered upon other ſubjects, do indeed deſerve reſpect and eſteem; but his *Rehearſal* and the reſt of his political papers are yet more pernicious, than thoſe of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *leſſon* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty ſhould be conveyed to them through ſuch *vehicles* as thoſe? For, let ſome gentlemen think what they pleaſe, I cannot

but ſuſpect, that the two worthies I firſt mentioned have, in a degree, done miſchief among us; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the inſipid mirth of the other, however inſupportable to reaſonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the loweſt part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearſal*, while he continued that paper, leſs infectious to many perſons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much leſs prejudiced, to judge for themſelves.

It was this reaſon, that moved me to take the matter out of thoſe *rough*, as well as thoſe *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninſtructed part of the nation ſee, that they have been miſled on both ſides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide diſtance on each ſide from the truth; while the right path is ſo broad and plain as to be eaſily kept, if they were once put into it.

Further: I had lately entered on a reſolution to take very little notice of other papers, unleſs it were ſuch, where the malice and falſhood had ſo great a mixture of wit and ſpirit, as would make them dan-

dangerous: which, in the preſent circle of ſcriblers, from twelve-pence to a half-penny, I could eaſily foreſee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to diſpenſe with my reſolution, although it be only to tell my reader, what meaſures I am like to take on ſuch occaſions for the future. I was told, that the paper called *The Obſervator* was twice filled laſt week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. Theſe I read with the firſt opportunity, and to ſpeak in the news-writers phraſe, they give me *occaſion for many ſpeculations*. I obſerved with ſingular pleaſure the nature of thoſe *things*, which the owners of them uſually call *Anſwers*, and with what dexterity this matchleſs author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To tranſcribe here and there three or four detached lines of leaſt weight in a diſcourſe, and by a fooliſh comment miſtake every ſyllable of the meaning, is what I have known many of a ſuperior claſs to this formidable adverſary entitle an *Anſwer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole diſcourſe; which is ſo mighty

mighty an advantage over me, that I ſhall by no means engage in ſo unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely diſmiſs him for the future; heartily wiſhing he had a match exactly of his own ſize to meddle with, who ſhould only have the odds of truth and honeſty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to ſilence him for ever. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear a ſhort ſtory of a *fanatick farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was ſo great a diſputant in religion, that the ſervants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the biſhop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible; and I borrowed a comment for him, which he ſtudied ſo cloſe, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They diſputed at ſeveral houſes with a ring of ſervants and other people always about them; where *Ned* explained his texts ſo full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and ſhewed the inſignificancy of his adverſary's cant to the meaneſt underſtanding, that he got the whole country

of

of his ſide, and the farmer was cured of his itch of diſputation for ever after.

The worſt of it is, that this ſort of outrageous party-writers I have ſpoke of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame ſmall quarrels by a thouſand ſtories, and by keeping friends at a diſtance hinder them from coming to a good underſtanding; as they certainly would, if they were ſuffered to meet and debate between themſelves: for let any one examine a reaſonable honeſt man of either ſide upon thoſe opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about; he ſhall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to aſk a queſtion about *two great men* of the late miniſtry, How they came to be *Whigs?* And, by what figure of ſpeech half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *Tories?* I doubt whoever would ſuit the definition to the perſons, muſt make it directly contrary to what we underſtood it at the time of the revolution.

In order to remove theſe miſapprehenſions among us, I believe, it will be neceſ-

ſary,

ſary upon occaſion to detect the malice and falſhood of ſome popular maxims, which thoſe idiots ſcatter from the preſs twice a week, and draw an hundred abſurd conſequences from them.

For example; I have heard it often objected as a great piece of inſolence in the clergy and others to ſay or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwiſe in parliament ſome years ago; and the queen herſelf, in her laſt ſpeech, did openly condemn all ſuch inſinuations. Notwithſtanding which, I did then, and do ſtill, believe the church hath, ſince that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have ſaid ſo without the leaſt offence to her majeſty, or either of the two houſes. The queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from *her adminiſtration*; and whoever ſays or thinks that, deſerves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor: but, that the church and ſtate may be both in danger under the beſt princes that ever reigned, and without the leaſt guilt of theirs, is ſuch a truth, as a man muſt be a great ſtranger to hiſtory and

and common ſenſe to doubt. The wiſeſt prince on earth may be forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, and the preſent power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill-deſigning men. One or two miniſters, moſt in his confidence, may *at firſt* have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their paſſions or intereſts from *one ſett of men* than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and ſo be forced to take *ſeven ſpirits more wicked than themſelves*. This is a very poſſible caſe; and will not *the laſt ſtate of ſuch men be worſe than the firſt?* that is to ſay, will not the publick, which was ſafe at firſt, grow in danger by ſuch proceedings as theſe? And ſhall a faithful ſubject, who forſees and trembles at the conſequences, be called *diſaffected*, becauſe he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he juſtly may, that the danger is not owing to his adminiſtration? Or ſhall the prince himſelf be blamed, when, in ſuch a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands *with the uuiverſal applauſe of*

his

*his people?* As to the vote againſt thoſe, who ſhould affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewiſe referred to danger from, or under, the queen's adminiſtration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can ſuddenly have recourſe to it;) but if it were otherwiſe, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were paſt, or at that time preſent; or how it could affect the future, unleſs the ſenators were all *inſpired*, or at leaſt that majority, which voted it: neither do I ſee it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both houſes; and that ill manners, I muſt confeſs, I have been often guilty of for ſome years paſt, although I hope I never ſhall again.

Another topick of great uſe to theſe weekly inflamers is the young *pretender* in *France*, to whom their whole party is in a high meaſure indebted for all their greatneſs; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his ſuppoſed father; which is a piece of *ſecret hiſtory*, that I hope will one day ſee the

the light; and I am ſure it ſhall, if ever I am maſter of it, without regarding *whoſe ears may tingle.* But at preſent the word *pretender* is a term of art in *their* profeſſion. A ſecretary of ſtate cannot *deſire leave to reſign*, but the *pretender* is at bottom; the queen cannot diſſolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herſelf and bring in the *pretender*; half a ſcore ſtock-jobbers are playing the knave in *Exchange-alley*, and there goes the *pretender* with a *ſponge.* One would be apt to think, they bawl out the *pretender* ſo often to take off the terror; or tell ſo many lyes about him to ſlacken our caution; that when he is really coming, *by their connivance*, we may not believe them; as the boy ſerved the ſhepherds about the *coming of the wolf:* or perhaps they ſcare us with the *pretender*, becauſe they think he may be like ſome diſeaſes, that *come with a fright.* Do they not believe, that the queen's preſent miniſtry love her majeſty, at leaſt as well as *ſome others* loved the *church?* And why is it not as great a mark of *diſaffection* now, to ſay the *queen is in danger*, as it was ſome months ago to affirm the ſame of the *church?*

Suppoſe

Suppoſe it be a falſe opinion, that the queen's right is *hereditary* and *indefeaſible*; yet how is it poſſible, that thoſe who hold and believe ſuch a doctrine, can be in the *pretender's* intereſt? His title is weakened by every argument, that ſtrengthens hers: it is as plain, as the words of an act of parliament can make it, That her preſent majeſty is heir to the ſurvivor of the late king and queen her ſiſter: is not that an *hereditary right?* What need we explain it any farther? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looſer and more general terms, and that by an author, whoſe opinions are very much followed by a certain party. Suppoſe we go further, and examine the word *indefeaſible*, with which ſome writers of late have made themſelves ſo merry: I confeſs, it is hard to conceive how any law, which the ſupreme power makes, may not by the ſame power be repealed; ſo that I ſhall not determine, whether the queen's right be *indefeaſible*, or no. But this I will maintain; that whoever affirms it ſo, is not guilty of a crime; for in that ſettlement of the crown after the revolution, where her

her preſent majeſty is named in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) theſe remarkable words, *to which we bind ourſelves and our poſterity for ever.* Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they pleaſe; and reaſoners may argue, that ſuch an obligation is againſt the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excuſed in thinking a right ſo confirmed is *indefeaſible*; and if there be an abſurdity in ſuch an opinion, he is not to anſwer for it.

*P. S.* When this paper was going to the preſs, the printer brought me two more *Obſervators*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are juſt ſuch an anſwer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to ſay on that matter.

## NUMBER XVI.

Thurſday, November 23, 1710.

*Qui ſunt boni cives? Qui belli, quĩ domi de patriâ bene merentes, niſi qui patriae beneficia meminerunt?*

I WILL employ this preſent paper upon a ſubject, which of late hath very much affected me, which I have conſidered with a good deal of application, and made ſeveral enquiries about among thoſe perſons, who, I thought, were beſt able to inform me; and if I deliver my ſentiments with ſome freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderneſs, which ſo nice a point requires.

I ſaid in a former paper (*Number* 13.) that one ſpecious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneaſineſs to a general, who hath been long ſucceſsful abroad; and accordingly, the common clamour of tongues and pens for ſome months paſt hath run againſt the baſeneſs, the inconſtancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the duke of *Marlborough*, in return of the moſt eminent

eminent ſervices, that ever were performed by a ſubject to his country; not to be equalled in hiſtory: and then, to be ſure, ſome bitter ſtroke of detraction againſt *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, who never did us the leaſt injury. Beſides, the people, who read *Plutarch*, come upon us with parallels drawn from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their moſt deſerving generals: while the profounder politicians have ſeen pamphlets, where *Tacitus* and *Machiavel* have been quoted to ſhew the danger of too reſplendent a merit. If a ſtranger ſhould hear theſe furious out-cries of ingratitude againſt our general, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to enquire, where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed chriſtian burial? not doubting but we had put him to ſome ignominious death. Or, hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly eſcaped; hath he been accuſed of high crimes and miſdemeanors; hath the prince ſeized on his eſtate, and left him to ſtarve; hath he been hooted at, as he paſſed the ſtreets, by an ungrateful rabble; have

neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family; have not he and they been barbarouſly ſtript of them all; have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad; and doth not the prince, by a ſcanty limited commiſſion, hinder him from purſuing his own methods in the conduct of the war; hath he no power at all of diſpoſing of commiſſions as he pleaſeth; is he not ſeverely uſed by the miniſtry or parliament, who yearly call him to a ſtrict account; hath the ſenate ever thanked him for good ſucceſs, and have they not always publickly cenſured him for the leaſt miſcarriage?—Will the accuſers of the nation join iſſue upon any of theſe particulars: or, tell us in what point our damnable ſin of ingratitude lies?—Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the queen diſſolves her parliament, and changes her miniſtry at home; in which *univerſal calamity* no leſs than *two perſons* allied by marriage to the general have loſt their places. Whence came this wonderful ſympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in *Flanders* refuſe

refuſe to fight, unleſs the can have *their own* lord keeper, *their own* lord preſident of the council, *their own* chief governor of *Ireland*, and *their own* parliament? In a kingdom, where the people are free, how came they to be ſo fond of having their counſels under the influence of their army, or thoſe that lead it? who, in all well-inſtituted ſtates, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reſerve.

When a general is not ſo popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long courſe of ſucceſs; it may perhaps be aſcribed to his *wiſdom*, or perhaps to his complexion. The poſſeſſion of ſome one *quality*, or a defect in *ſome other*, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the ſoldiers. Beſides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a queen, who engroſſeth all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way for a great general or miniſter to acquire any degree of ſubordinate affection from the publick muſt be by all marks

of the moſt *entire ſubmiſſion and reſpect* to her ſacred perſon and commands; otherwiſe no pretence of great ſervices, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to ſkreen them from univerſal hatred.

But the late miniſtry was cloſely joined to the general by friendſhip, intereſt, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the preſent: and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's *joining as one man* to wiſh, that ſuch a miniſtry ſhould be changed. Is it not at the ſame time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general was able to preſerve that miniſtry ſo long, until neither God nor man could ſuffer their continuance? Yet in the higheſt ferment of things we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all ſeemed unanimous in wiſhing, he might ſtill be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the ſame time, in caſe he were reſolved to reſign, they choſe rather to turn their thoughts ſomewhere elſe than throw up all in deſpair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people with regard to the

the perſon we are ſpeaking of; that in the high ſtation he hath been for many years paſt, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have in a detracting age been very ſparingly mentioned either in libels or converſation, and all his *ſucceſſes* very freely and univerſally applauded.

There is an active and a paſſive ingratitude: applying both to this occaſion, we may ſay, the firſt is, when a prince or people returns good ſervices with cruelty or ill uſage; the other is, when good ſervices are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already ſpoken of the former; let us therefore in the ſecond place examine, how the ſervices of our general have been rewarded; and whether upon that article either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude?

Thoſe are the moſt valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they *fit our temper beſt:* I ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the title of *duke*, or the *garter*, which the queen beſtowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign; but I ſhall come to *more ſubſtantial inſtances*, and

mention nothing, which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of *Woodſtock* may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000*l.* on the building of *Blenheim* caſtle 200,000*l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finiſhed; the grant of 5000*l. per annum* on the poſt office is richly worth 100,000*l.* his principality in *Germany* may be computed at 30,000*l.* pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000*l.* the grant at the *Pall-mall*, the rangerſhip, *etc.* for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000*l.* his own and his ducheſs's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed ſalaries, are very low rated at 100,000*l.* Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare ſay, thoſe who are loudeſt with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in compariſon of what is *untold.*

The reaſon of my ſtating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite ſo ungrateful either as the *Greeks* or the *Romans*; and in order to adjuſt this matter

matter with all fairneſs, I ſhall confine myſelf to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of *Rome*, in the heighth of that empire, having *entirely ſubdued his enemies*, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a ſtatue in the *Forum*, a bull for a ſacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inſcriptions, ſometimes five hundred or a thouſand copper coins were ſtruck on occaſion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and laſtly, ſometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. Theſe are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received after his return from the moſt glorious expedition; having conquered ſome great kingdom, brought the king himſelf, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a *Roman* province, or at beſt a poor depending ſtate in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all theſe rewards I find but two, which were of real profit to the general; the *laurel crown*, made

made and ſent him at the charge of the publick, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find, whether this laſt was paid for by the ſenate or the general: however we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the reſt admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to theſe computations on both ſides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of *Roman* gratitude, and the other of *Britiſh* ingratitude, and ſet them together in ballance.

*A bill*

## *A bill of* ROMAN *gratitude.*

| *Imprim.* | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| For frankincenſe and earthen pots to burn it in | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| A bull for ſacrifice | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| An embroidered garment | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| A crown of laurel | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| A ſtatue | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| A trophy | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| A thouſand copper medals, value half-pence a-piece | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| A triumphal arch | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Caſual charges at the triumph | 150 | 9 | 0 |
| | 994 | 11 | 10 |

## *A bill of* BRITISH *ingratitude.*

| *Imprim.* | *l.* |
|---|---|
| *Woodſtock* | 40000 |
| *Blenheim* | 200000 |
| Poſt-office grant | 100000 |
| *Mildenheim* | 30000 |
| Pictures, jewels, *etc.* | 60000 |
| *Pall-mall* grant, *etc.* | 10000 |
| Employments | 100000 |
| | 540000 |

This

This is an account of the viſible profits on both ſides; and if the *Roman* general had any *private perquiſites*, they may be eaſily diſcounted, and by more probable computations; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we conſider, that all the gold and ſilver for *ſafeguards* and *contributions*, alſo all *valuable prizes* taken in the war, were openly expoſed in the triumph, and then lodged in the capitol for the publick ſervice.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite ſo bad at *worſt*, as the *Romans* were at *beſt*. And I doubt thoſe, who raiſe this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily miſtaken in the conſequence they propoſe from ſuch complaints. I remember a ſaying of *Seneca*, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*, we *find* many ungrateful perſons in the world, but we *make* more, by ſetting too high a rate upon our pretenſions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreaſonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two perſons, I have known one of them perpetually

petually making large demands, and preſſing for payments; who, when the accounts were caſt up on both ſides, was found to be debtor for ſome hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were iſſued out for every man to ſend in his *bill of merits*, and the loweſt price he ſet them at, what a pretty ſum it would amount to, and how many ſuch iſlands as this muſt be ſold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of thoſe, who ſometimes happen to *pay themſelves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be ſo unjuſt to take a farthing more, than they think is due to their deſerts. I will inſtance only in one article: a * lady of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-ſix pounds a year out of her allowance for certain uſes, which her woman † received, and was to

* Suppoſed to be her late majeſty queen *Anne*.

† The matter was this: At the QUEEN's acceſſion to the government, ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the crown being impoveriſhed by former grants, ſhe wanted the power her predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful ſervants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the privy purſe 2000 *l.* a year, in order to purchaſe for my advantage.—As her MAJESTY was ſo good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted—I conſtantly declined it, till the time—ſhe was pleaſed to diſmiſs me from her ſervice. Then indeed—I ſent

pay

Let me put a parallel caſe: ſuppoſe I ſhould complain, that laſt week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a ſmooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horſes; to be ſure all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon *John*, becauſe they knew he then *preſided* in my coach-box. Again, ſuppoſe I ſhould diſcover ſome uneaſineſs to find myſelf, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were ſure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never ſpent half my income; they would certainly adviſe me to turn off Mr. *Oldfox* * my *receiver*, and take another. If, as a juſtice of peace, I ſhould tell a friend, that my *warrants* and *mittimus's* were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to ſend an honeſt man to goal and diſmiſs a knave; he would bid me no longer truſt *Charles* and *Harry* †, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, aſſuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I ſhould add, that my tenants made me very uneaſy with their ſquabbles and

* L. *Godolphin.* † E. of *Sunderland*, and *Henry Boyle*, eſq; were at this time ſecretaries of ſtate.

broils

broils among themſelves; he would counſel me to caſhier *Will Bigamy* *, the *ſeneſchal* of my manor. And laſtly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a miſunderſtanding about the *delivery of a meſſage*, what could I do leſs than ſtrip and diſcard the *blundering* or *malicious* raſcal, who carried it?

It is the ſame thing in the conduct of publick affairs, where they have been managed with raſhneſs or wilfulneſs, corruption, ignorance, or injuſtice. Barely to relate the facts, at leaſt while they are freſh in memory, will as much reflect upon the *perſons* concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore ſince thought of another expedient, frequently practiſed with great ſafety and ſucceſs by ſatyrical writers; which is that of looking into hiſtory for ſome character bearing a reſemblance to the perſon, we would deſcribe: and with the abſolute power of altering, adding, or ſuppreſſing what circumſtances we pleaſe, I conceive we muſt have very

* L. C——r *C*—*r*.

bad luck, or very little ſkill, to fail. However, ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe looking into one of the politick weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this ſcheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was deſcribing a perſon, who from ſmall beginnings grew (as I remember) to be conſtable of *France*, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took the author for a friend to our *faction* (for ſo, with great propriety of ſpeech, they call the queen and miniſtry, almoſt the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom;) and I ſaid to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what perſons the author meant, yet there were ſeveral particulars in the *huſband's* character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the *lady*, it was juſt and adequate enough. But it ſeems I miſtook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of perſons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid ſuch a misfortune as this, I have been for ſome time conſulting *Livy* and *Tacitus* to find out the character of a *Princeps ſenatus*, a *Praetor urbanus*, a

*Quaeſtor*

*Quaeſtor aerarius*, a *Caeſari ab epiſtolis*, and a *Proconſul*: but among the worſt of them I cannot diſcover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a *roman* memory: ſo that I am compelled to have recourſe to *Tully*. But this author, relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be beſt to obſerve his method, and make an extract from ſix harangues of his againſt *Verres*, only ſtill preſerving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceaſed about two months ago, preſented the world with a ſpeech of *Alcibiades* againſt an *Athenian* brewer. Now I am told for certain, that in thoſe days there was no ale in *Athens*; therefore that ſpeech, or at leaſt a great part of it, muſt needs be ſpurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes *Alcibiades* ſay a great deal more than he really did, and I make *Cicero* ſay a great deal leſs. This *Verres* * had been the *roman* governor of *Sicily* for three years; and, on his return from his government, the *Sicilians*

* Earl of *Wharton*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*.

entreated *Cicero* to impeach him in the ſenate; which he accordingly did in ſeveral orations, from whence I have faithfully tranſlated and abſtracted that which follows:

"MY LORDS,

"A pernicious opinion hath for ſome "time prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but "among our neighbouring nations, that "a man who hath money enough, al- "though he be ever ſo guilty, cannot be "condemned in this place. But, however "induſtriouſly this opinion be ſpread to "caſt an odium on the ſenate, we have "brought before your lordſhips *Caius* "*Verres*, a perſon for his life and actions "already condemned by all men: but, as "he hopes and gives out, by the influence "of his wealth to be here abſolved; in "condemning this man you have an op- "portunity of belying that general ſcan- "dal, of redeeming the *credit loſt by for-* "*mer judgments*, and recovering the love "of the *roman* people, as well as of our "neighbours. I have brought here a man "before you, my lords, who is a robber

"of

" of the publick treaſure, an overturner
" of law and juſtice, and the diſgrace as
" well as deſtruction of the *Sicilian* pro-
" vince; of whom if you ſhall deter-
" mine with equity and due ſeverity, your
" authority will remain entire, and upon
" ſuch an eſtabliſhment as it ought to be:
" but if his great riches will be able to
" force their way through that religious
" reverence and truth, which become ſo
" awful an aſſembly; I ſhall however
" obtain thus much, that the defect will
" be laid where it ought; and that it ſhall
" not be objected, that the criminal was not
" produced, or that there wanted an ora-
" tor to accuſe him. This man, my lords,
" hath publickly ſaid, that thoſe ought
" to be afraid of accuſations, who have
" only robbed enough for their own ſup-
" port and maintenance; but that he hath
" plundered ſufficient to bribe numbers;
" and that nothing is ſo high or ſo holy,
" which money cannot corrupt. Take
" that ſupport from him, and he can have
" no other left: for what eloquence will
" be able to defend a man, whoſe life hath
" been tainted with ſo many ſcandalous

" vices, and who hath been ſo long con-
" demned by the univerſal opinion of the
" world? To paſs over the foul ſtains and
" ignominy of his youth, his corrupt manage-
" ment in all employments he hath borne,
" his treachery and irreligion, his injuſtice
" and oppreſſion; he hath left of late ſuch
" monuments of his villainies in *Sicily*,
" made ſuch havock and confuſion there,
" during his government, that the pro-
" vince cannot by any means be reſtored to
" its former ſtate, and hardly recover itſelf
" at all under many years, and by a long
" ſucceſſion of good governors. While
" this man governed in that iſland, the
" *Sicilians* had neither the benefit of our
" laws nor their own, nor even of com-
" mon right. In *Sicily* no man now poſ-
" ſeſſes more, than what the governor's
" luſt and avarice have overlooked, or
" what he was forced to neglect out of
" mere wearineſs and ſatiety of oppreſ-
" ſion. Every thing, where he preſided,
" was determined by his arbitrary will;
" and the beſt ſubjects he treated as ene-
" mies. To recount his abominable de-
" baucheries would offend any modeſt

" ear, ſince ſo many could not preſerve
" their daughters and wives from his luſt.
" I believe there is no man, who ever heard
" his name, that cannot relate his enor-
" mities. We bring before you in judg-
" ment, my lords, a publick robber, an
" adulterer, a DEFILER OF ALTARS *, an
" enemy of religion and of all that is ſa-
" cred. In *Sicily* he ſold all employments
" of judicature, magiſtracy, and truſt,
" places in the council, and the *prieſthood*
" itſelf, to the higheſt bidder; and hath
" plundered that iſland of forty millions
" of ſeſterces. And here I cannot but ob-
" ſerve to your lordſhips, in what man-
" ner *Verres* paſſed the day: the morning
" was ſpent in taking bribes and ſelling
" employments; the reſt of it in drunken-
" neſs and luſt. His diſcourſe at table was
" ſcandalouſly unbecoming the dignity of
" his ſtation; noiſe, brutality, and ob-
" ſceneneſs. One particular I cannot omit;
" that in the high character of governor
" of *Sicily*, upon a ſolemn day, a day ſet

* The ſtory of the lord *Wharton* is true; who, with ſome other wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the moſt filthy manner.

" apart for publick prayer for the ſafety
" of the commonwealth, he ſtole at even-
" ing in a chair to a married woman of
" infamous character, againſt all decency
" and prudence, as well as againſt all laws
" both human and divine. Didſt thou
" think, O *Verres!* the government of
" *Sicily* was given thee with ſo large a
" commiſſion, only, by the power of that,
" to break all the bars of law, modeſty,
" and duty; to ſuppoſe all mens fortunes
" thine, and leave no houſe free from thy
" rapine and luſt?" *etc.*

This extract, to deal ingenuouſly, hath coſt me more pains, than I think it is worth; having only ſerved to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be parallelled by ancient examples, without having recourſe to poetry or fable. For inſtance, I never read in ſtory of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatſoever; by which a man may ſafely commit upon the laſt of *June*, what he would infallibly be hanged for if he committed on the firſt of *July*; by which the greateſt criminals may eſcape, provided they

they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by ſtifling them a while can deceive the legiſlature into an *amneſty*, of which the enactors do not at that time foreſee the conſequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to ſuſpect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urging for a general releaſe. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not ſurpriſed that thoſe, who contrived a parliamentary *ſponge* for their *crimes*, are now afraid of a new revolution *ſponge* for their *money*: and if it were poſſible to contrive a *ſponge*, that could only affect thoſe who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed,

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## NUMBER XVIII.

Thurſday, December 9, 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas verſum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem;*
*Tam multae Scelerum facies* ——

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is; to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconſiſtent criticiſms I daily hear upon it. Thoſe who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are ſometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in point of wit, and ſometimes of truth. At other times they are ſo generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *fingers* in it. As for thoſe who only appear its adverſaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold, lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I pleaſe; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the ſatyr too keen for me to deal

deal with, (a very frequent caſe, no doubt, where a man is conſtantly attacked by ſuch ſhrewd adverſaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aſide, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the ſame power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining out of policy or good manners with the judgment of both parties: this, I confeſs, is too great a hardſhip for ſo baſhful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas, I lie under another diſcouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I ſet up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to diſcover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cauſe, which the QUEEN and both houſes of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have ſo unanimouſly embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politick authors muſt begin to leſſen our expences, and lie for the future at the mercy of our

our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourſelves into places or penſions. A certain ſtarveling author, who *worked* under the late adminiſtration, told me with a heavy heart above a month ago, that he, and ſome others of his brethren, had ſecretly offered their ſervice, dog-cheap, to the preſent miniſtry, but were all refuſed; and are now maintained by contribution, like *jacobites* or *fanaticks*. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiſeration, in doing them good offices: for whereas ſome were of opinion, that theſe hungry zealots ſhould not be ſuffered any longer in their malapert way to ſnarl at the preſent courſe of publick proceedings; and whereas others propoſed, that they ſhould be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *maſters*, in the ſame manner as counſel are aſſigned for other criminals, that is, to ſay all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court; I humbly gave my advice, that they ſhould be ſuffered to write on, as they uſed to do; which I did purely out of regard to their perſons; for I hoped it would keep them out

out of harms-way, and prevent them from falling into evil courſes; which, although of little conſequence to the publick, would certainly be *fatal to themſelves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will tranſcribe a petition to the preſent miniſtry, ſent me by one of theſe authors in behalf of himſelf and fourſcore of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithſtanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I ſhall continue my paper, till either the world or myſelf grow weary of it: the latter is eaſily determined; and for the former, I ſhall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I deſigned by it, was to undeceive thoſe well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong ſenſe of things either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great perſonal qualities of ſome party leaders, or the foul miſrepreſentations that were conſtantly made of all, who durſt differ from them in the ſmalleſt article. I have known ſuch men

ſtruck

ſtruck with the thoughts of ſome late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reaſon viſible to the world. In anſwer to this, it is not ſufficient to alledge, what no body doubts, that a good and wiſe prince may be allowed to change his miniſters without giving a reaſon to his ſubjects; becauſe it is probable, that he will not make ſuch a change without very important reaſons; and a good ſubject ought to ſuppoſe, that in ſuch a caſe there are ſuch reaſons, although he be not appriſed of them; otherwiſe he muſt inwardly tax his prince of capriciouſneſs, inconſtancy, or ill deſign. Such reaſons indeed may not be obvious to perſons prejudiced, or at a great diſtance, or ſhort thinkers; and therefore if they be no ſecrets of ſtate, nor any ill conſequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the ſatisfaction of all men. And, if what I have already ſaid, or ſhall hereafter ſay, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *perſons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can poſſibly be avoided. The queen

queen in her ſpeech mentions *with great concern*, that " the navy and other offices " are burthened with heavy debts; and " deſires, that the like may be prevented " for the time to come." And, if it be *now* poſſible to prevent the continuance of an evil, that hath been ſo long growing upon us, and is arrived to ſuch a heighth; ſurely thoſe corruptions and miſmanagements muſt have been great, which firſt introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up and diſcover, in all their colours, only about eight or nine thouſand of the moſt ſcandalous abuſes, that have been committed in all parts of publick management for twenty years paſt by a certain ſett of men and their inſtruments, I ſhould reckon it ſome ſervice to my country and poſterity. But to ſay the truth, I ſhould be glad the authors names were conveyed to future times along with their actions. For although the preſent age may underſtand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we deſcribe; yet all this will be loſt to the next. However,

if

if theſe papers, *reduced into a more durable form*, ſhould happen to live till our grand-children be men, I hope they may have curioſity enough to conſult annals and compare dates in order to find out, what names were then intruſted with the conduct of affairs, in the conſequences whereof themſelves will ſo deeply ſhare; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an encumbrance upon an eſtate for three generations.

But leaving the care of informing poſterity to better pens, I ſhall, with due regard to truth, diſcretion, and the ſafety of my perſon from the men of *the new-fangled moderation*, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the miſled part of the people ſee, how groſly they have been abuſed, and in what particulars. I ſhall alſo endeavour to convince them, that the preſent courſe we are in is the moſt probable means, with the bleſſing of God, to extricate ourſelves out of all our difficulties.

Among thoſe, who are pleaſed to write or talk againſt this paper, I have obſerved a ſtrange manner of reaſoning, which I ſhould

ſhould be glad to hear them explain themſelves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming upon all occaſions againſt a change of miniſtry in ſo critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What ſhall we, who heartily approve and join in thoſe proceedings, ſay in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they deſcribe: we are puſhed for an anſwer; and are forced at laſt freely to confeſs, that the corruptions and abuſes in every branch of the adminiſtration were ſo numerous and intolerable, that all things muſt have ended in ruin without ſome ſpeedy reformation. This I have already aſſerted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late perſons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for caſting reflections on ſo many great and honourable men, whoſe *birth, virtue, and abilities, whoſe morals and religion, whoſe love of their country, and its conſtitution in church and ſtate*, were ſo univerſally allowed; and all this ſet off with odious compariſons, re-

flecting on the preſent choice: is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the queen hath in a moſt dangerous criſis turned out a whole ſett of the beſt miniſters, that ever ſerved a prince, without any manner of reaſon, but her royal pleaſure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how ſo vile an opinion as this can conſiſt with the leaſt pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confeſs myſelf ſo little a refiner in politicks, as not to be able to diſcover what other motive, beſides obedience to the QUEEN, a ſenſe of publick danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could ſpirit up thoſe great men, who have now under her majeſty's authority undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmoſt efforts of malice, from a ſett of enraged domeſtick adverſaries perpetually watching over their conduct, croſſing all their deſigns, and uſing every art to foment diviſions among them, in order to join with the weakeſt, upon any rupture? The difficulties they muſt encounter are nine

nine times more and greater than ever; and the proſpects of intereſt, after the *reapings* and *gleanings* of ſo many years, nine times leſs. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the neceſſary conſequence of former counſels, will be imputed to them; and all the good ſucceſs given to the merit of former ſchemes. A ſharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and loſt your money; and, when things are almoſt deſperate, you employ an honeſt gentleman to retrieve your loſſes.

I would aſk, whether the QUEEN's ſpeech doth not contain her intentions in every particular relating to the publick, that a good ſubject, a *Briton*, and a *Proteſtant* can poſſibly have at heart? "To "carry on the war in all its parts, parti- "cularly in *Spain*, with the utmoſt vi- "gour, in order to procure a ſafe and "honourable peace for us and our allies; "to find ſome ways of paying the debts "of the navy; to ſupport and encourage "the church of *England*; to preſerve the "*Britiſh* conſtitution according to the "union; to maintain the indulgence by

" law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences;
" and to employ none but ſuch, as are for
" the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of
" *Hanover.*" It is known enough, that ſpeeches on theſe occaſions are ever digeſted by the advice of thoſe, who are in the chief confidence; and conſequently, that theſe are the ſentiments of her majeſty's miniſters, as well as her own; and we ſee, the two houſes have unanimouſly agreed with her in every article. When the leaſt counterpaces are made to any of theſe reſolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out *popery*, *perſecution*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this iſland can hold but ſix men of honeſty and ability enough to ſerve their prince and country; or that our ſafety ſhould depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their noſtrils. Why ſhould not a *revolution* in the miniſtry be ſometimes neceſſary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown? It is to be preſumed, the former is at leaſt as lawful in itſelf, and perhaps the experiment not quite ſo dangerous. The *revolution* of the

the *ſun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a neceſſary expedient to ſolve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanſwered; until philoſophers contrived a better, which is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *ſun*. This is found upon experience to ſave much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better ſuited to the reſpect due from a *planet* to a *fixed ſtar*.

## NUMBER XIX.

Thurſday, December 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in ſatyra videar nimis acer, et ultra*
*Legem tendere opus: ſine nervis altera quicquid*
*Compoſui pars eſſe putat* ——

WHEN the printer came laſt week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of thoſe papers, which, in the phraſe of *Whig-coffee-houſes*, have *ſwinged off the Examiner*; moſt of which I had never ſeen or heard of before. I remember ſome time ago in one of the *Tatlers* to

have read a letter, wherein ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned for the preſent corruption and degeneracy of our taſte; but I think the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuſe either ſide of this infirmity: I have heard the arranteſt drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their ſhrewdneſs, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the beſt performances exploded as nonſenſe and ſtupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindneſs, which prejudice and paſſion caſt over the underſtanding: I mention this becauſe I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And, having granted more than is uſual for an enemy to do, I muſt now take leave to ſay, that ſo weak a *cauſe*, and ſo ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more reſembling their condition, or leſs ſuited to their occaſions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis,*
*Tempus eget* ——

This

This is the more to be wondered at, when we conſider, they have the full liberty of the preſs; that they have no other way left to recover themſelves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to ſet their arguments in the beſt light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both ſides with fairneſs, good ſenſe, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the moſt effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to proſtitute their pens in a very odious *cauſe*; which beſides is more properly undertaken by noiſe and impudence, by groſs railing and ſcurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which thoſe *whifflers* uſe for arguments and anſwers.

I was well enough pleaſed with a ſtory of one of theſe anſwerers, who in a paper laſt week found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it ſeems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was reſolved to begin his anſwer with a *latin* verſe, as well as other folks. His buſineſs

was to look out for ſomething againſt an *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over *Virgil* he had the luck to find theſe words,

——*fugiant examina taxos:*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *prompters* had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that if theſe people will not be quiet, I ſhall take the bread out of their mouths, and anſwer the *Examiner* myſelf; which I proteſt I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have thoſe anſwers been written or publiſhed with my privity, as malicious people are pleaſed to give out; nor do I believe the common *whiggiſh* report, that the authors are hired by the miniſtry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneaſineſs with their impatience, than its enemies by their anſwers. I heard myſelf cenſured laſt week by ſome of the former for promiſing to diſcover the corruptions of the late adminiſtration, but never performing any thing. The latter,

on

on the other ſide, are thundering out their *anathemas* againſt me for diſcovering ſo many. I am at a loſs how to decide between theſe contraries, and ſhall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my deſign being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the ſpleen of one ſide, or provoke that of the other, although it may occaſionally have both effects.

I ſhall therefore go on to relate ſome facts, that in my humble opinion were no hindrance to the change of the miniſtry.

The firſt I ſhall mention, was that of introducing certain new phraſes into the court ſtyle, which had been very ſeldom, or never, made uſe of in former times. They uſually ran in the following terms: "Madam, I cannot ſerve you while ſuch "a one is in employment. I deſire, hum- "bly, to reſign my commiſſion, if Mr. "—— continues ſecretary of ſtate. I "cannot anſwer that the city will lend "money, unleſs my l—d —— be preſident "of the council. I muſt beg leave to ſur- "render, except —— has the ſtaff. I muſt "not accept the ſeals, unleſs —— comes

"into

" into the other office." This hath been the language of late years from ſubjects to their prince. Thus they ſtood upon terms, and muſt have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had ſpread ſo far, that every under-ſtrapper began at length to perk up and aſſume; he *expected a regiment*; or *his ſon muſt be a major*; or *his brother a collector*; elſe he threatened to *vote according to his conſcience.*

Another of their glorious attempts was the clauſe intended in the bill *for the encouragement of learning*, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both univerſities to enter upon holy orders: the deſign of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confeſs, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuſe into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther ſecret in this clauſe, which may beſt be diſcovered by the firſt projectors, or at leaſt the *garblers* of it; and theſe are known to be *Collins* and *Tindal*, in conjunction with a moſt *pious lawyer*, their diſciple.

What

What ſhall we ſay to their prodigious ſkill in *arithmetick*, diſcovered ſo conſtantly in their deciſion of elections; where they were able to make out by the *rule of falſe*, that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty?* Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them diſpute, that in determining elections they were not to conſider, where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cauſe*. This they uſed to illuſtrate by a very apt and decent ſimilitude of gaming with a ſharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another caſt of their politicks was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent *lady**, for no reaſon imaginable, but her faithful and diligent ſervice to the queen, and the favour her majeſty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in ſo ſhameful a manner. What elſe was the crime? Had ſhe *treated her royal miſtreſs with inſolence or neglect?* Had ſhe *enriched herſelf by a long practice*

* The lady *Maſham*,

*of*

*of bribery, and obtaining exorbitant grants?* Had ſhe *engroſſed her majeſty's favours, without admitting any acceſs but through her means?* Had ſhe *heaped employments upon herſelf, her family, and dependants?* Had ſhe *an imperious haughty behaviour?* Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and miſtake of *one perſon for another?* I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning wondering what it could poſſibly be that made him reſt ſo ill, happening to ſee a feather under him, imputed the uneaſineſs of his lodging to that. I remember likewiſe the ſtory of a giant in *Rabelais*, who uſed to feed upon *wind-mills*; but was unfortunately choaked with a ſmall lump of *freſh butter* before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but obſerve, how very refined ſome people are in their generoſity and gratitude. There is a certain great perſon (I ſhall not ſay of what ſex) who for many years paſt was the conſtant mark and butt, againſt which our preſent male-contents uſed to diſcharge their reſentment; upon whom they beſtowed all the terms of ſcurrility, that malice, envy, and in-

indignation could invent; whom they publickly accuſed of every vice, that can poſſeſs a human heart; pride, covetouſneſs, ingratitude, oppreſſion, treachery, diſſimulation, violence, and fury, all in the higheſt extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a ſudden; that perſon is now the moſt faithful and juſt, that ever ſerved a prince; that perſon, originally differing from them in principles as far as eaſt from weſt, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty reſemblances between each other, which they could never diſcover before. *Tanti eſt, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer ſuffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment ſhould be ſhut up, except a very few; when one or two ſtood conſtant *centry*, who docked all favours they handed down, or ſpread a huge inviſible net between the prince and ſubject, through which nothing of value could paſs? And here I cannot but admire at one conſequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally

ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, princes, who have ill miniſters, are apt to ſuffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: but it was not ſo with the queen. When the ſun is overcaſt by thoſe clouds he exhales from the earth, we ſtill acknowledge his light and influence, and at laſt find he can diſpel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wiſeſt prince by the neceſſity of affairs, the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men, or the innocent miſtakes even of a good predeceſſor, may find himſelf encompaſſed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and ſucceſs, have miſerably corrupted: and if he can ſave himſelf and his people from ruin under the *worſt* adminiſtration, what may not his ſubjects hope for, when with their univerſal applauſe he changeth hands, and maketh uſe of the *beſt?*

Another great objection with me againſt the late party was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conſcience* by a *barbarous inquiſition*, refuſing to admit the leaſt *toleration* or *indulgence*. They impoſed an hundred *teſts*; but could never be prevailed on to *diſpenſe* with, or *take off*, the ſmalleſt, or even

even to admit of *occaſional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apoſtle *Tindal* expreſſeth it) *narrowing their terms of communion*, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom *hereticks*, and ſhutting them out of the pale of their church. Theſe very men, who talk ſo much of a *comprehenſion in religion* among us, how came they to allow ſo little of it in *politicks*, which is *their ſole religion?* You ſhall hear them pretending to bewail the animoſities kept up between the church of *England* and diſſenters, where the differences in opinion are ſo few and inconſiderable; yet theſe very ſons of *moderation* were pleaſed to *excommunicate* every man, who diſagreed with them in the ſmalleſt *article* of their *political creed*, or who refuſed to receive any new *article*, how difficult ſoever to digeſt, which the leaders impoſed at pleaſure to ſerve their own intereſt.

I will quit this ſubject for the preſent, when I have told one ſtory. "There was "a great king in *Scythia*, whoſe domi- "nions were bounded on the north by "the poor mountainous territories of a "petty lord, who paid homage, as the

"king's

" king's vaſſal. The *ſcythian prime mini-*
" *ſter*, being largely *bribed*, indirectly ob-
" tained his maſter's conſent to ſuffer this
" lord to build forts, and provide himſelf
" with arms, under pretence of prevent-
" ing the inroads of the *Tartars*. This
" little depending ſovereign, finding he
" was now in a condition to be trouble-
" ſome, began to inſiſt upon terms, and
" threatened upon every occaſion to unite
" with the *Tartars*: upon which the *prime*
" *miniſter*, who began to be in pain about
" his *head*, propoſed a *match* betwixt his
" maſter and the only daughter of this
" tributary lord, which he had the good
" luck to bring to paſs; and from that
" time valued himſelf as author of a moſt
" glorious *union*, which indeed was grown
" of abſolute neceſſity by his corruption."
This paſſage, cited literally from an old hiſtory of *Sarmatia*, I thought fit to ſet down on purpoſe to perplex little ſmattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application.

NUM-

## NUMBER XX.

Thurſday, December 21, 1710.

— *pugnacem ſcirent ſapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a loſs how to proceed upon the ſubject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath led me to engage in. The ſubject I mean, is that of *ſoldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I ſhall handle it in as cautious a manner, as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war hath ſuffered great changes almoſt in every age and country of the world; however, there are ſome maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reaſonable man muſt allow.

In the early times of *Greece* and *Rome*, the armies of thoſe ſtates were compoſed of their citizens, who took no pay, becauſe the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was uſually decided in one campaign; or, if it laſted longer, yet in winter the ſoldiers returned to their ſeveral callings, and were not diſtinguiſhed from the

reſt of the people. The *gothick* governments in *Europe*, although they were of military inſtitution, yet obſerved almoſt the ſame method. I ſhall inſtance only here in *England*: thoſe who held lands *in capite* of the king, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them at eaſy rents on that condition. Theſe fought without pay; and, when the ſervice was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of *William Rufus*, that being abſent in *Normandy*, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thouſand men to be raiſed, and ſent over from hence to ſupply his army; but having ſtruck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to diſband, upon condition they would pay him ten ſhillings a man, which amounted to a mighty ſum in thoſe days.

Conſider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *ſervants armed* either to awe the *children* at home, or elſe to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwiſe em-

employed, and chuſe to contribute out of their ſtock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their abſence. The art of making ſoldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, ſeems in *Europe* to have had two originals: the firſt was *uſurpation*; when popular men deſtroyed the liberties of their country, and ſeized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the *tyrants* in moſt of the ſmall ſtates of *Greece*; and ſuch were thoſe in ſeveral parts of *Italy* about three or four centuries ago, as *Machiavel* informs us. The other original of mercenary armies ſeems to have riſen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had ſubdued provinces at a diſtance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent inſurrections from the natives. Of this ſort were *Macedon*, *Carthage*, and *Rome* of old; *Venice* and *Holland* at this day, as well as moſt kingdoms of *Europe*. So that mercenary forces in a free ſtate, whether *monarchy* or *commonwealth*, ſeem only neceſſary either for preſerving their conqueſts

(which in ſuch governments it is not prudent to extend too far,) or elſe for maintaining war at a diſtance.

In this laſt, which at preſent is our moſt important caſe, there are certain maxims, that all wiſe governments have obſerved.

The firſt I ſhall mention is, that no *private* man ſhould have a commiſſion to be *general for life*, let his merit and ſervices be ever ſo great. Or, if a prince be unadviſedly brought to offer ſuch a commiſſion in one hand, let him (to ſave time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The *Romans*, in the heighth and perfection of their government, uſually ſent out one of the new *conſuls* to be general againſt their moſt formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was ſent to command in ſome other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a ſecond, and ſometimes a third year. But if *Paulus Aemilius*, or *Scipio* himſelf, had preſumed to move the *ſenate* to continue their *commiſſions for life*, they would certainly have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of the people. *Cæſar* indeed (between

(between whom and a *certain general* ſome of late, with much diſcretion, have made a *parallel)* had his command in *Gaul* continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual *dictator*, that is to ſay, *general for life*; which gave him the power and the will of utterly deſtroying the *roman* liberty. But in his time the *Romans* were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and diſcipline. However, we ſee there ſtill were ſome remains of a noble ſpirit among them; for when *Cæſar* ſent to be choſen *conſul*, notwithſtanding his abſence, they decreed he ſhould come in perſon, give up his command, and *petere more majorum.*

It is not impoſſible, but a *general* may deſire ſuch a commiſſion out of *inadvertency*, at the *inſtigation of his friend*, or perhaps of his *enemies*; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any ſuch *dreadful conſequences*; and in that caſe a wiſe prince, or ſtate, may barely refuſe it without ſhewing any marks of their diſpleaſure. But the requeſt in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought

to be entered ſo upon record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be obſerved by a free ſtate engaged in war is, to keep the military power in abſolute ſubjection to the civil, nor ever ſuffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are *ſervants*, *hired* by the civil power to act, as they are directed from thence, and with a commiſſion large or limitted, as the adminiſtration ſhall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole ſyſtem, by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful inſtitutions of ſtates at home; and if the rewards be ſo inviting as to tempt a *ſenator* to take a poſt in the army, whilſt he is there on his duty, he ought to conſider himſelf in no other capacity. I know not any ſort of men ſo apt as ſoldiers are to reprimand thoſe, who preſume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffee-houſe, wondering that ſuch a victory was not purſued; complaining that ſuch a town coſt more men and money than

than it was worth to take it; or that ſuch an opportunity was loſt of fighting the enemy; they preſently reprove us, and often with juſtice enough, for meddling in matters out of our ſphere; and clearly convince us of our miſtakes by terms of art, that none of us underſtand. Nor do we eſcape ſo; for they reflect with the utmoſt contempt on our ignorance; that we, who ſit at home in caſe and ſecurity, never ſtirring from our fire-ſides, ſhould pretend from books and general reaſon to argue upon military affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the ſhare of intellectuals in ſome who are ſaid to excel that way, is not ſo very profound, or difficult a ſcience. But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, ſurely theſe gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themſelves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beſide their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to preſcribe rules for trade, to determine points in philoſophy, to be moderators in an aſſembly of divines, or direct in a court of juſtice, as to miſplace

their talent in examining affairs of ſtate, eſpecially in what relates to the *choice of miniſters*, who are never ſo likely to be ill choſen as when approved by them. It would be endleſs to ſhew, how pernicious all ſteps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I ſhall only produce two at preſent; one in *Rome*, the other in *England*. The firſt is of *Cæſar*: when he came to the city with his ſoldiers to *ſettle the miniſtry*, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The ſecond was in the great rebellion againſt king *Charles* the firſt: the king and both houſes were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army (as *Ludlow* relates it) ſet a guard upon the houſe of commons, took a liſt of the members, and kept all by force out of the houſe, except thoſe who were for bringing the king to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the iſland by *major generals*, we received moſt admirable inſtances of their ſkill in politicks. To ſay the truth, ſuch formidable ſticklers can have but two reaſons for deſiring to interfere in the adminiſtration; the firſt is that

that of *Cæſar* and *Cromwell*, of which God forbid I ſhould accuſe or ſuſpect any body, ſince the ſecond is pernicious enough, and that is, *to preſerve thoſe in power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than ſee others advanced, who, they are ſure, will uſe all proper means to promote a ſafe and honourable peace.*

Thirdly, ſince it is obſerved of armies, that in the preſent age they are brought to ſome degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preſerving this temper among them; without which they would ſoon degenerate into *ſavages*. To this end it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that deteſtable cuſtom of *drinking to the damnation or confuſion* of any perſon whatſoever.

Such diſperate acts, and the opinions infuſed along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to ſcatter madneſs and ſedition through a whole camp. So ſeldom upon *their knees to pray*, and ſo often to *curſe!* this is not properly

properly atheiſm, but a ſort of *anti-religion* preſcribed by the devil, and which an atheiſt of common ſenſe would ſcorn as an abſurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice laſt Autumn, *ſomewhere or other*, to *drink damnation and confuſion* (and this with circumſtances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new miniſtry*, and to thoſe who *had any hand* in turning out the *old*; that is to ſay, to thoſe perſons whom her majeſty has thought fit to employ in her greateſt affairs, with ſomething *more than a glance againſt the queen herſelf*. And if it be true, that theſe *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words* of *ſtanding by their general*, who without queſtion abhorred them, let any man conſider the conſequence of ſuch diſpoſitions, if they ſhould happen to ſpread. I could only wiſh for the honour of the army, as well as of the queen and miniſtry, that a remedy had been applied to the diſeaſe in the *place* and *time* where it grew. If men of ſuch principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were ſure of a *general for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might ſoon bid farewel

farewel to miniſters and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only ſorry, ſuch an accident hath happened towards the cloſe of a war; when it is chiefly the intereſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have poſts in the army, to behave themſelves in ſuch a manner, as might encourage the legiſlature to make ſome proviſion for them, when there will be no further need of their ſervice. They are to conſider themſelves as perſons, by their education, unqualified for many other ſtations of life. Their fortunes will not ſuffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities to help towards its *reſurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by *ſolemn execrations of the miniſtry*; a miniſtry of the queen's own election, and fully anſwering the wiſhes of her people. This unhappy ſtep in ſome of *their brethren* may paſs for an uncontroulable argument, that politicks are not their buſineſs, or their element. The fortune of war hath raiſed ſeveral perſons up to ſwelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which

which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a ſort of deportment, that ought to have been dropt behind in that ſhort paſſage to *Harwich*. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in *Lucian*, where *Charon* waſting one of their predeceſſors over *Styx*, ordered him to ſtrip off his armour and fine cloaths, yet ſtill thought him too heavy; " But, *ſaid he*, " put off likewiſe that pride and preſump- " tion, thoſe high ſwelling words, and " that vain-glory;" becauſe they were of no uſe on the other ſide the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper ſcene, it would be much more for the intereſt of the owners, and leſs offenſive to their fellow ſubjects.

## NUMBER XXI.

Thurſday, December 28, 1710.

*Nam et majorum inſtituta tueri, ſacris ceremoniiſque retinendis, ſapientis eſt.*
*—— Ruituraque ſemper*
*Stat (mirum!) moles ——*

WHOEVER is a true lover of our conſtitution, muſt needs be pleaſed to ſee what ſucceſsful endeavours are daily made to reſtore it in every branch to its ancient form, from the languiſhing condition it hath long lain in, and with ſuch deadly ſymptoms.

I have already handled ſome abuſes during the *late management*, and ſhall in convenient time go on with the reſt. Hitherto I have confined myſelf to thoſe of the ſtate; but, with the good leave of ſome who think it a matter of ſmall moment, I ſhall now take liberty to ſay ſomething of the *church*.

For ſeveral years paſts there hath not, I think, in *Europe* been any ſociety of men upon ſo unhappy a foot as the *clergy* of *England*; nor more hardly treated by thoſe

very

very perſons, from whom they deſerved much better quarter, and in whoſe power they chiefly had put it to uſe them ſo ill. I would not willingly miſrepreſent facts, but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the *revolution* againſt thoſe many invaſions of our rights proceeded principally from the clergy; who are likewiſe known to have rejected all advances made them to cloſe with the meaſures at that time concerting; while the *diſſenters*, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the baſeſt compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulſome addreſſes, and took employments and commiſſions by virtue of the diſpenſing power, againſt the direct laws of the land. All this is ſo true, that if ever the *pretender* comes in, they will, next to thoſe of his own religion, have the faireſt claim and pretentions to his favour from their merit and eminence ſervices to his ſuppoſed father, who without ſuch encouragement would probably never have been miſled to go the lengths he did. It ſhould likewiſe be

be remembered to the everlaſting honour of the *London* divines, that in thoſe dangerous times they writ and publiſhed the beſt collection of arguments againſt *popery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the revolution the body of the *clergy* joined heartily in the common cauſe (except a few, whoſe ſufferings perhaps have atoned for their miſtakes) like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulph or a precipice, but come into the old ſtrait road again, as ſoon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail: for, as in the reign of king *Charles* the firſt ſeveral well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming ſome abuſes, while others, who had deeper deſigns, were ſtill calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at laſt in the ruin of the kingdom: ſo, after the late king's coming to the throne, there was a reſtleſs cry from men of *the ſame principles* for a *thorough revolution*; which, as *ſome* were carrying it on, muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour hath run ever ſince againſt the clergy, and from what

corner

corner ſpread and fomented, is, I believe, manifeſt to all men. It looked like a ſet quarrel againſt *chriſtianity*; and, if we call to mind ſeveral of the *leaders*, it muſt in a great meaſure have been actually ſo. Nothing was more common in writing and converſation, than to hear that reverend body charged in groſs with what was utterly inconſiſtent; deſpiſed for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accuſed for promoting arbitrary power, and for reſiſting the prerogative; cenſured for their pride, and ſcorned for their meanneſs of ſpirit. The repreſentatives of the lower clergy were railed at for diſputing the power of the biſhops by the known abhorrers of epiſcopacy; and abuſed for doing nothing in the convocations by thoſe very men, who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every ſingle man, were laid upon the character: their juriſdiction, cenſures, and diſcipline trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints againſt their exceſſive power: the men of wit employed to turn the prieſthood itſelf into ridicule: in ſhort, groan-

groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppreſſion, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money ſpent in their education to fit them for the ſervice of the altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be ſome comfort for perſons of that holy function, that their divine founder, as well as his *harbinger*, met with the like reception: *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they ſay he hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they ſay, behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, etc.*

In this deplorable ſtate of the clergy, nothing but the hand of providence, working by its glorious inſtrument the QUEEN, could have been able to turn the people's hearts ſo ſurpriſingly in their favour. This princeſs, deſtined for the ſafety of *Europe*, and a bleſſing to her ſubjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed ſuch an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the falſe politicks of a ſett of men, who form their maxims upon thoſe of every

tottering commonwealth, which is always ſtruggling for life, ſubſiſting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. Theſe men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unleſs the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a ſyſtem only proper for ſmall popular ſtates, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is beſt upheld by a monarchy in poſſeſſion of its juſt prerogative, a ſenate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy eſtabliſhed in its due rights with a ſuitable maintenance by law. But theſe men come with the ſpirit of *ſhop-keepers* to frame rules for the adminiſtration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government conſiſted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *herrings*. Such an iſland as ours can afford enough to ſupport the majeſty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magiſtracy: we can encourage arts and ſciences, maintain our biſhops and clergy, and ſuffer our gentry to live in a decent, hoſpitable manner; yet

yet ſtill there will remain hands ſufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deſerve the beſt encouragement, but not to a degree of ſending every living ſoul into the *warehouſe* or the *work-ſhop*.

This pedantry of republican politicks hath done infinite miſchief among us. To this we owe thoſe noble ſchemes of treating chriſtianity as a ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions*, which no man ſhould be bound to believe; of making the *being*, and the worſhip of God, a *creature* of the ſtate; in conſequence of theſe, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleaſure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they ſhould be *preſcribed* what to teach by thoſe, who are to learn from them; and upon default have a *ſtaff* and a *pair of ſhoes* left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wiſdom, and good nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their ſchemes are vaniſhed, and *their places ſhall know them no more*. When I think of that

inundation of atheiſm, infidelity, profaneneſs, and licentiouſneſs, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it firſt proceeded, and how the people joined with the QUEEN's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable paſſage in the *Revelations*, where *the ſerpent with* SEVEN *heads caſt out of his mouth water after the* WOMAN *like a flood, that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood: but the* EARTH *helped the* WOMAN, *and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed up the flood, which the dragon had caſt out of his mouth.* For the QUEEN having changed her miniſtry ſuitable to her own wiſdom, and the wiſhes of her ſubjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the ſame time ſummoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accuſtomed*; and ſoon after their meeting ſent a moſt gracious letter to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to be communicated to the biſhop and clergy of his province; taking notice of "the looſe and profane principles, which "had been openly ſcattered and propa-"gated among her ſubjects: that the con-

"ſultations

" ſultations of the clergy were particular-
" ly requiſite to repreſs and prevent ſuch
" daring attempts, for which her ſubjects
" from all parts of the kingdom have
" ſhewn their juſt abhorrence: *ſhe* hopes
" the endeavours of the clergy in this re-
" ſpect will not be unſucceſsful; and for
" her part, is ready to give them all fit
" encouragement to proceed in the diſ-
" patch of ſuch buſineſs, as properly be-
" longs to them; and to grant them powers
" requiſite to carry on ſo good a work:
in concluſion, " earneſtly recommending
" to them to avoid diſputes; and deter-
" mining to do all that in her lies to com-
" poſe and extinguiſh them."

It is to be hoped, that this laſt part of her majeſty's letter will be the firſt, ſhe will pleaſe to execute; for, it ſeems, this very letter created the firſt diſpute; the fact whereof is thus related: The upper houſe having formed an addreſs to the QUEEN, before they received her majeſty's letter, ſent both addreſs and letter together to the lower houſe, with a meſſage excuſing their not mentioning the letter in the addreſs, becauſe *this* was formed before

the *other* was received. The lower houſe returned them with a deſire, that an addreſs might be formed with due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After ſome difficulties, the ſame addreſs was ſent down again with a clauſe inſerted, making ſome ſhort mention of the ſaid letter. This the lower houſe did not think ſufficient, and ſent it back again with the ſame requeſt: whereupon the archbiſhop, after a ſhort conſultation with *ſome* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month; and no addreſs at all was ſent to the QUEEN.

I underſtand not eccleſiaſtical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter; but it ſeems to me, that all methods of doing ſervice to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convocation*, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy againſt ſuch an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the inſtitution, *ſpiritual aſſemblies* muſt needs be ſtrangely contrived, very different from any *lay ſenate* yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of ſuch a *ſynod*, it muſt be a very unhappy circumſtance, when the majority

of

of the biſhops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time ſuſpected for any principles bordering upon thoſe profeſſed by enemies to epiſcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *preſent ſett* of biſhops, I doubt it will call *ſome things* to mind, that may turn the ſcale of general favour on the inferior clergy's ſide; who, with a profound duty to her majeſty, are perfectly pleaſed with the *preſent turn of affairs*. Beſides, *curious people* will be apt to enquire into the *dates of ſome promotions*, to call to mind what deſigns were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps they will obſerve the manner of voting on the biſhops bench, and compare it with what ſhall paſs in the upper houſe of convocation. There is however one comfort; that under the preſent diſpoſitions of the kingdom a diſlike to the proceedings of any of their lordſhips, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *perſonal*, and not turned to the diſadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather

find the inclinations of the people favourable to *epiſcopacy* in general, than ſee a majority of prelates cried up by thoſe, who are *known enemies* to the character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence for ſeveral years paſt, than to obſerve, how *ſome* of that bench have been careſſed by *certain perſons*; and *others of* them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheiſts, republicans, and fanaticks.

*Time* and *mortality* can only remedy theſe inconveniencies in the church, which are not to be cured, like thoſe in the ſtate, by a *change of miniſtry*. If we may gueſs the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is uſual to do that of a houſe of commons by the *ſpeaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themſelves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of ſo much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one, who is ſo thoroughly verſed in thoſe parts of knowledge, which are proper for it. I am ſorry, that the three *latin* ſpeeches delivered upon preſenting the *prolocutor* were not made publick; they might perhaps have given

given us ſome light into the diſpoſition of each houſe: and beſides, one of them is ſaid to be ſo peculiar in the ſtyle and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what it wanted in *inſtruction.*

## NUMBER XXII.

Thurſday, January 4, 1710.

*Nullae ſunt occultiores inſidiae, quam eae, quae latent in ſimulatione officii, aut in aliquo neceſſitudinis nomine.*

*The following anſwer is written in the true ſtyle, and with the uſual candour of ſuch pieces; which I have imitated to the beſt of my ſkill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely ſatisfied with it.*

*The* EXAMINER croſs-examined; *or,*
*A full anſwer to the laſt* EXAMINER.

IF I durſt be ſo bold with this author, I would gladly aſk him a familiar queſtion; *Pray, ſir, who made you an examiner?* He talks in one of his inſipid papers of *eight*

*eight or nine thouſand corruptions*, while *we* were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

*Parturiunt montes*, etc. HOR.

But I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to his laſt paper. He tells us, *the queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here's *prieſtcraft* with a witneſs! This is the conſtant language of your *high-fliers*, to call thoſe, who are *hired* to teach *the religion of the magiſtrate*, by the name of the *church.* But this is not all; for in the very next line he ſays, *it was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You ſee the *faction* begins already to ſpeak out: this is an open demand for the abby lands; this furious zealot would have us *prieſt-ridden* again, like our popiſh anceſtors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to ſuppreſs ſuch audacious attempts; elſe we have ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to very little purpoſe in maintaining *religion* and the *revolution.* But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? *A country*, ſays he, *may flouriſh*

*flouriſh* (theſe are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages.* What! we muſt immediately baniſh, or murder the *Palatines*; forbid all foreign merchants not only the *Exchange*, but the kingdom; perſecute the diſſenters with fire and faggot; and make it high-treaſon to ſpeak any other tongue but *engliſh*. In another place he talks of a *ſerpent* with *ſeven heads*, which is a manifeſt corruption of the text; for the words, *ſeven heads*, are not mentioned in that verſe. However, we know what *ſerpent* he would mean; a *ſerpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *ſerpent* at all, but ſeven great men, who were the *beſt miniſters*, the *trueſt proteſtants*, and the moſt *diſintereſted patriots*, that ever ſerved a prince. But nothing is ſo inconſiſtent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a whig or a tory, a proteſtant or a papiſt; he finds fault with convocations; ſays, *they are aſſemblies ſtrangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands:* I wiſh we could have bound their *tongues* too. But, as faſt as their *hands* were bound, they could make a ſhift

a ſhift to hold their *pens*, and have their ſhare in the guilt of ruining the hopefulleſt party and miniſtry, that ever *preſcribed* to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to *ſee a majority of prelates cried up by thoſe, who are enemies to the character:* now I always thought, that the conceſſions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praiſe of his friends. *Time and mortality*, he ſays, *can only remedy theſe inconveniencies in the church:* that is, in other words, when certain biſhops are dead, we ſhall have others of our own ſtamp. Not ſo faſt: you are not yet ſo ſure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable loſs* in *Spain*, although by a general of our own: for joy of which our *junto* had a merry meeting at the houſe of their great proſelyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more ſuch *blows* would perhaps ſet us right again; and then we can employ mortality, as well as others. He concludes with wiſhing, that *three letters, ſpoken when the prolocutor was preſented, were made publick.* I ſuppoſe he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we ſhall humour

humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it poſſible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *latin*; which is all I ſhall ſay to this malicious *innuendo*.

Having thus, I hope, given *a full and ſatisfactory anſwer* to the *Examiner's* laſt paper, I ſhall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove by ſeveral undeniable inſtances, that the late miniſtry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confeſs, a ſecret to the clergy, wherein this friendſhip did conſiſt. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to diſplay our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wiſh, that what I am to ſay were to be written in braſs for an eternal memorial; the rather, becauſe for the future the church muſt endeavour to ſtand unſupported by thoſe patrons, who expired in doing it their *laſt good office*, and will never *riſe* to preſerve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of theſe church defenders, who were

were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

*Firſt*, *St. Paul* tells us, *there muſt be hereſies in the church, that the truth may be manifeſt*; and therefore, by due courſe of reaſoning, the more hereſies there are, the more manifeſt will the truth be made. This being maturely conſidered by theſe lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many hereſies as they could, that the light of truth might ſhine the clearer.

*Secondly*, To ſhew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it intirely out of the hands of *God almighty* (becauſe that was a *foreign juriſdiction*) and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and iſſued out their orders to *Tindal*, and others, to give publick notice of it.

*Thirdly*, Becauſe *charity* is the moſt celebrated of all chriſtian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, inſtead of ſhutting the church againſt *diſſenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than that any

any ſhould want room to enter. The ſtrength of a ſtate, we know, conſiſteth in the number of people, how different ſoever in their callings; and why ſhould not the ſtrength of a church conſiſt in the ſame, how different ſoever in their *creeds?* For that reaſon they charitably attempted to aboliſh the *teſt*, which tied up ſo many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by ſeveral *malignant tories*; and denied as a ſlander by many unthinking people among ourſelves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to aſk ſuch queſtions as theſe; *Was your teſt repealed? had we not a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleaſed?* To which the others anſwer, *You did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter, whence the ſanction of the law muſt come; and therefore, to ſave your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourſelves had brought in.* But alas! the miſcarriage of that noble project for the ſafety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof

depends

depends upon a piece of ſecret hiſtory, which I ſhall now lay open.

Theſe church-protectors had directed a *preſbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *teſt*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble, ſeveral expreſſions of civility to the *eſtabliſhed church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all thoſe, who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken ſpecial care to make them large enough for all *chriſtians* whatſoever, by tranſcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath*) which *quakers* are obliged to profeſs by a former act of parliament; as I ſhall here ſet them down: *I*, A. B. *profeſs faith in God the father, and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his eternal ſon, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, bleſſed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration.* This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with theſe terrible words turned into an oath. What ſhould they do? Thoſe few among them, who fancied they believed in *God*, were ſure they did not believe in *Chriſt*, or

or the *Holy ſpirit*, or one ſyllable of the *Bible*; and they were as ſure that every body knew their opinion in thoſe matters, which indeed they had been always too ſincere to diſguiſe; how therefore could they take ſuch an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Coward*, *Collins*, *Clendon*, and all the tribe of *free-thinkers*, and ſo *give a ſcandal to weak unbelievers?* Upon this nice point of honour and conſcience the matter was huſhed, the project for repealing the *teſt* let fall, and the *ſacrament* left as the ſmaller evil of the two.

*Fourthly*, Theſe pillars of the church, becauſe *the harveſt was great, and the labourers few*, and becauſe they would eaſe the biſhops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatſoever, to prevent that terrible conſequence of *unchurching* thoſe, who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn ſleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization for prieſthood?*

*Fifthly*, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, becauſe truth never appears ſo fair as when confronted with falſhood, they directed books to be publiſhed, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *Second* and *Third Perſon*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the ſoul. To this we owe that great ſenſe of religion, that reſpect and kindneſs to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, ſo manifeſt of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more diſcreet, than to leave the merits of each cauſe to ſuch wiſe, impartial judges; who might otherwiſe fall under the ſlavery of believing by *education* and *prejudice*.

*Sixthly*, Becauſe nothing ſo much diſtracts the thoughts, as too great variety of ſubjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to preſcribe the clergy what ſubjects they ſhould preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loſs; and this no doubt was a proper work for ſuch hands, ſo thoroughly verſed in the theory and practice of all chriſtian duties.

*Seventhly*,

*Seventhly*, To ſave trouble and expence to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* ſhould meet as ſeldom as poſſible; and, when they were ſuffered to aſſemble, would never allow them to meddle with any buſineſs; becauſe, *they ſaid*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the ſame reaſon they were very deſirous to excuſe the biſhops from ſitting in parliament, that they might be at more leiſure to ſtay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I ſhall mention at preſent but one more inſtance of their pious zeal for the church. They had ſomewhere heard the maxim, that *Sanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiae*; therefore, in order to *ſow this ſeed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman:* and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumſtance, they proceeded as much as poſſible againſt common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew, was in an hundred inſtances directly contrary to all their poſitions, and *were ſufficiently warned of it before hand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a ſudden;

for a certain great perſon, whoſe character hath been lately publiſhed by ſome ſtupid and lying writer, who very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in forwarding this *impeachment*, had ſeveral years ago endeavoured to perſuade the late king to give way to juſt ſuch another attempt. He told his majeſty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous ſermons, and that the only way to put a ſtop to ſuch inſolence was to impeach him in parliament. The king enquired the character of the man: *O ſir*, ſaid my lord, *the moſt violent, hot, poſitive fellow in* England; *ſo extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a martyr*. The king anſwered, *Is it ſo? then I am reſolved to diſappoint him*; and would never hear more of the matter; by which that hopeful project unhappily miſcarried.

I have hitherto confined myſelf to thoſe endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of *our* party; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce ſeveral inſtances of particular perſons, who by their exemplary lives

lives and actions have confirmed the character ſo juſtly due to the whole body. I ſhall at preſent mention only two, and illuſtrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is ſuppoſed to reflect on under the name of *Verres*, felt a pious impulſe to be a benefactor to the cathedral of *Glouceſter*; but how to do it in the moſt decent generous manner, was the queſtion. At laſt he thought of an expedient: one morning, or night, he ſtole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that, which in cleanly phraſe is called *diſburthening of nature*. He was diſcovered, proſecuted, and condemned to pay a thouſand *pounds*; which ſum was all employed to *ſupport the church*, as no doubt the *benefactor* meant it.

There is another perſon, whom the ſame writer is thought to point at under the name of *Will Bigamy*. This gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a conſiderable perquiſite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.*

for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a ſecond wife, while the firſt was alive, convincing her of the lawfulneſs by ſuch arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the ſame example. Theſe he had drawn up in writing, with intention to publiſh for the *general good*; and it is hoped, he may *now* have leiſure to finiſh them.

## NUMBER XXIII.

Thurſday, January 11, 1710.

*Bellum ita ſuſcipiatur, ut nihil aliud niſi pax quaeſita videatur.*

I AM ſatisfied, that no reaſonable man of either party can juſtly be offended at any thing, I ſaid in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down perhaps many perſons may conclude, that I had a mind, the world ſhould think there had been occaſion given by ſome late abuſes among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be underſtood, and my quotations and allegories

gories applied: and I am in ſome pain to think, that in the *Orcades* on one ſide, and the *weſtern* coaſts of *Ireland* on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in ſeveral parts, which I wiſh I could furniſh them with. As to the *french* king, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and by what he hath found in them, diſlikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propoſe new terms for a peace. So falſe is that, which is commonly reported of his mighty ſatisfaction in our change of miniſtry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *tories* of *Great Britain* muſt either have been extorted from him, againſt his judgment; or was a caſt of politicks to ſet the people againſt the preſent miniſtry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* ſucceeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded any objections made againſt that paper, which mentions the army; yet I intended this as a ſort of apology for it. And firſt I declare (becauſe we live in a miſtaken world) that in hinting at

ſome proceedings, wherein a few perſons are ſaid to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much deteſted that barbarous injuſtice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myſelf; I mean the accuſing ſocieties for the crimes of a few. On the other ſide, I muſt take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions than other numbers of men. The maxims propoſed were occaſionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, becauſe I am ſure, conſidering what hath paſſed, it would be a crime to think otherwiſe. All poſts in the army, all employments at court, and many others are, *or ought to be*, given and reſumed at the mere pleaſure of the prince; yet when I ſee a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the miniſtry, and this under the moſt juſt and gracious princeſs that ever reigned, I muſt naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent conſiderations, and for ſome great demerit in the ſufferers. But then, is not the puniſhment ſufficient? Is it generous, or charitable, to trample

on

on the unfortunate, and expoſe their faults to the world in the ſtrongeſt colours? And would it not ſuit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without queſtion; provided it could be ſo contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever: *ſuch* an act of oblivion would be for the honour of our nation, and beget a better opinion of us with poſterity; and then I might have ſpared the world and myſelf the trouble of *examining*. But at preſent there is a cruel *dilemma* in the caſe; the friends and abettors of the late miniſtry are every day publiſhing their praiſes to the world, and caſting reflections upon the preſent perſons in power. This is ſo bare-faced an aſperſion upon the QUEEN, that I know not how any good ſubject can with patience endure it, although he were ever ſo indifferent with regard to the opinions in diſpute. Shall they, who have loſt all power and love of the people, be allowed to ſcatter their poiſon; and ſhall not thoſe, who are at leaſt of the ſtrongeſt ſide, be ſuffered

to

to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them ſee, that theſe diſcarded ſtateſmen were juſtly laid aſide; and producing as many inſtances to prove it as we can? not from any perſonal hatred to them, but in juſtification to the beſt of queens. The many ſcurrilities I have heard and read againſt this poor paper of mine, are in ſuch a ſtrain, that conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, they look like a jeſt. They uſually run after the following manner; "What! Shall this inſolent writer "preſume to cenſure the late miniſtry, "the ableſt, the moſt faithful, and trueſt "lovers of their country and its conſtitu-"tion, that ever ſerved a prince? Shall "he reflect on the beſt houſe of commons, "that ever ſat within thoſe walls? Hath "not the queen changed both for a mini-"ſtry and parliament of *jacobites* and *high-"fliers*, who are ſelling us to *France*, and "bringing over the *pretender?*" This is the very ſum and force of all their reaſonings, and this is their method of complaining againſt the *Examiner*. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the QUEEN,

QUEEN, and the miniſtry and parliament ſhe hath choſen with the univerſal applauſe of her people: in *us* it is inſolent to defend her majeſty and her choice, or to anſwer their objections by ſhewing the reaſons, why thoſe changes were neceſſary.

The ſame ſtyle hath been uſed in the late caſe concerning ſome gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raiſed by a ſett of men, who had the boldneſs to tax the adminiſtration with cruelty and injuſtice, that I thought it neceſſary to interfere a little by ſhewing the ill conſequences, that might ariſe from ſome proceedings, although without application to particular perſons. And what do they offer in anſwer? Nothing but a few poor common places againſt *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as juſt and ſeaſonable in a plot againſt the ſacred perſon of the QUEEN.

But by the way, why are theſe idle people ſo indiſcreet to name thoſe *two words*, which afford occaſion of laying open to the world ſuch an infamous ſcene of *ſubornation* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as I believe, is without

without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal** refuſed to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I diſapprove their ſagacity, who could foretel ſo long before by what *hand* they ſhould one day fall, and therefore thought any means juſtifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at preſent, it muſt be owned in juſtice to the army, that thoſe violences did not proceed ſo far among them, as ſome have believed; nor ought the madneſs of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the reſt, I am ſo far from denying the due praiſes to thoſe brave troops, who did their part in procuring ſo many victories for the *allies*; that I could wiſh, every officer and private ſoldier had their full ſhare of honour in proportion to their deſerts; being thus far of the *Athenians* mind, who, when it was propoſed that the ſtatue of *Miltiades* ſhould be ſet up alone in ſome publick place of the city, ſaid, they would agree to it, *whenever he con-*

* *Greg.*

*quered*

*quered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late miniſtry before the preſent; or, if wiſhing alone could be of any uſe, for wiſhing their continuance, becauſe then they might be ſecure of the war's continuance too: whereas, ſince affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under ſome apprehenſions of a peace; which no army, eſpecially in the courſe of ſucceſs, was ever inclined to; and which all wiſe ſtates have in ſuch a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politicks have always diſagreed: and for that reaſon I affirmed it neceſſary in all free governments, that the latter ſhould be abſolutely in ſubjection to the former; otherwiſe one of theſe two inconveniencies muſt ariſe, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* inſtitution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all, that hath been ſaid of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great ſucceſſes abroad; nor is

it

it their fault, that thoſe important victories had no better conſequences at home, though it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and buſineſs: to improve and cultivate the advantages of ſucceſs, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakneſs or corruption, according to the uſual uncertainty of wars may be of the moſt fatal conſequence to a nation. For, pray, let me repreſent our condition in ſuch a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the conſequences I ſhall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years bleſt with a QUEEN, who beſides all virtues, that can enter into the compoſition of a private perſon, poſſeſſeth every regal quality, that can contribute to make a people happy: of great wiſdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counſellors: of much diſcernment in chuſing proper inſtruments, when ſhe follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that exceſs of goodneſs, which makes her judge of others by herſelf: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the publick, which in pro-

proportion ſhe doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her ſubjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all, who want or deſerve; and, in order to exerciſe thoſe virtues, denying herſelf all entertainments of expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at leaſt in *Flanders*, our arms have been crowned with perpetual ſucceſs in battles and ſieges; not to mention ſeveral fortunate actions in *Spain*. Theſe facts being thus ſtated, which none can deny; it is natural to aſk, how we have improved ſuch advantages, and to what account they have turned? I ſhall uſe no diſcouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worſe by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the beſt phyſicians, before the caſe grows deſperate. But I would aſk, whether *France*, or any other kingdom, would have made ſo little uſe of ſuch prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremeſt degree of folly and corruption; and where thoſe have lain, let the world judge. Inſtead of aiming at peace, while we had the advan-

tage

tage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wiſe ſtates, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to expreſs our wiſhes for it; and ſuch a condition impoſed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to diſpute; *quae enim eſt conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi poteſt?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who ſat at home, and were called to conſult upon the good of the kingdom, to be ſo utterly averſe from putting an end to a long, expenſive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered ſide, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the ſword; they had no ſhare in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the queen ſaw through their deſigns; that they had entirely loſt the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were againſt them; that they were deteſted by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank,

bank, and other ſtocks, which would be neither formidable nor neceſſary, when the war was at an end. For theſe reaſons they reſolved to diſappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party ſhould be ſo deeply rooted, as to make it impoſſible to ſhake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters ſo faſt, as in a little time muſt have ruined the conſtitution, if the crown had not interpoſed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than ſuch dreadful conſequences of their power. And indeed if the former danger had been greater, than ſome hoped or feared, I ſee no difficulty in the choice, which was the ſame with his, who ſaid, *he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats.* I therefore ſtill inſiſt, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with, the army for concurring with the miniſtry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in thoſe, who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the reſt, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under

check of the civil power, or when a corrupt miniſtry joins in giving it too great a ſcope, the conſequence can be nothing leſs, than infallible ruin and ſlavery to a ſtate.

After I had finiſhed this paper, the printer ſent me two ſmall pamphlets, called *The management of the war*; written with ſome plauſibility, much artifice, and abundance of miſrepreſentations, as well as direct falſhoods in point of fact. Theſe I have thought worth *examining*, which I ſhall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

## NUMBER XXIV.

Thurſday, January 18, 1710.

*Parva momenta in ſpem metumque impellunt animos.*

HOPES are natural to moſt men, eſpecially to ſanguine complexions; and among the various changes, that happen in the courſe of publick affairs, they are

are ſeldom without ſome grounds. Even in deſperate caſes, where it is impoſſible they ſhould have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have ſome recourſe, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for ſeveral months paſt the condition of thoſe people, whom I am forced, for want of other phraſes, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up ſince their fall ſome real, and ſome pretended hopes. When the earl of *Sunderland* was diſcarded, they hoped her majeſty would proceed no farther in the change of her miniſtry; and had the inſolence to miſrepreſent her words to foreign ſtates. They *hoped*, no body durſt adviſe the diſſolution of the parliament. When this was done, and farther alterations made in court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewiſe *hoped*, that we ſhould have ſome terrible loſs abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or aſſumed, there is none more extraordinary than that, which they

now would ſeem to place their whole confidence in: that this great turn of affairs was only occaſioned by a ſhort madneſs of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and ſober enough to conſider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that ſome few of the deepeſt ſighted among theſe reaſoners are well enough convinced, how vain all ſuch *hopes* muſt be: but for the reſt, the wiſeſt of them ſeem to have been very ill judges of the peoples diſpoſitions; the want of which knowledge was a principal occaſion to haſten their ruin; for ſurely, had they ſuſpected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run againſt it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are ſo blind, as to imagine ſome comfort from this fantaſtical opinion; that the people of *England* are at preſent diſtracted, but will ſhortly come to their ſenſes again.

For the ſervice therefore of our adverſaries and friends I ſhall briefly *examine* this point, by ſhewing what are the cauſes

and

and ſymptoms of a peoples madneſs; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is *Machiavel's* obſervation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do ſeldom miſtake their true intereſts; and indeed they naturally love the conſtitution, they are born under; never deſiring to change, but under great oppreſſions. However, they are to be deceived by ſeveral means. It hath often happened in *Greece*, and ſometimes in *Rome*, that thoſe very men, who have contributed to ſhake off a former tyranny, have, inſtead of reſtoring the old conſtitution, deluded the people into a worſe and more ignominious ſlavery. Beſides, all great changes have the ſame effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the loweſt *Plebeians* riſe to the head of affairs, and there preſerve themſelves, by repreſenting the nobles and other friends to the old government as enemies to the publick. The encouraging of new myſteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewiſe been a

frequent topick to miſlead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting falſe reports of dangers from abroad hath often ſerved to prevent them from fencing againſt real dangers at home. By theſe and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak, or corrupt adminiſtration, the madneſs of the people hath riſen to ſuch a heighth, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the beſt inſtituted governments. But however ſuch great frenzies, being artificially raiſed, are a perfect force and conſtraint upon human nature; and under a wiſe ſteddy prince will certainly decline of themſelves, ſettling like the ſea after a ſtorm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern ſtory are full of inſtances to illuſtrate what I ſay.

In our own iſland we had a great example of a long madneſs in the people, kept up by a thouſand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the conſtitution was deſtroyed; yet the malignity being ſpent, and the humour exhauſted that ſerved to foment it, before the uſurpers could

could fix upon a new ſcheme, the people ſuddenly recovered, and peaceably reſtored the old conſtitution.

From what I have offered, it will be eaſy to decide, whether this late change in the diſpoſition of the people was a new madneſs, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I ſee how it can be proved, that ſuch a change had in any circumſtance the leaſt ſymptoms of madneſs, whether my deſcription of it be right, or no. It is agreed, that the trueſt way of judging the diſpoſition of the people in the choice of their repreſentatives is by computing the county elections; and in theſe it is manifeſt, that five in ſix are entirely for the preſent meaſures; although the court was ſo far from interpoſing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods uſed to influence elections. The free, unextorted addreſſes ſent ſome time before from every part of the kingdom plainly ſhewed, what ſort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city,

carried, contrary to all conjecture, againſt the united intereſt of thoſe two great bodies, the *Bank* and *Eaſt India company*, was another convincing argument. Beſides, the *whigs* themſelves have always confeſſed, that the bulk of landed men in *England* was generally of *tories*. So that this change muſt be allowed to be according to the natural genius and diſpoſition of the people; whether it were juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, or no.

Notwithſtanding all which, you ſhall frequently hear the partiſans of the late men in power gravely and deciſively pronounce, that the preſent miniſtry cannot poſſibly ſtand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themſelves, muſt ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *laſt* being ſo far eſtabliſhed and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honeſt men will be able to reſtore things to their former ſtate. Or elſe theſe reaſoners have been ſo miſled by twenty years miſmanagement, that they have forgot our conſtitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiſer; and by the choice they have made, ſhew

ſhew they do underſtand our conſtitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new miniſters take care to maintain, they will and ought to ſtand; otherwiſe they may fall like their predeceſſors. But I think, we may eaſily foreſee what a parliament, freely choſen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man ſhall be in any danger to loſe his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

But, who are thoſe advancers of this opinion, that the preſent miniſtry cannot hold? It muſt be either ſuch as are afraid to be called to an account, in caſe it ſhould hold: or thoſe, who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reaſonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; ſince perhaps it will be neceſſary to make ſome changes, that the publick buſineſs of the nation may go on: or laſtly, *ſtock-jobbers*, who induſtriouſly ſpread ſuch reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet theſe hopes, thus freely expreſſed, as they are more ſincere, ſo they are more

ſup-

ſupportable, than when they appear under the *diſguiſe* and pretence of *fears*. Some of theſe gentlemen are employed to ſhake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to ſhew how impoſſible it is, that the publick credit can be ſupported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the *pretender* is at the bottom. I know not any thing ſo nearely reſembling this behaviour, as what I have often ſeen among the friends of a ſick man, whoſe intereſt it is that he ſhould die. The phyſicians proteſt they ſee no danger, the ſymptoms are good, the medicines anſwer expectation; yet ſtill they are not to be comforted; they whiſper, he is a gone man, it is not poſſible he ſhould hold out; he hath perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At laſt, the patient recovers, and their joy is as falſe as their grief.

I believe there is no man ſo ſanguine, who did not apprehend ſome ill conſequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but

but it is manifeſt, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Thoſe remedies, that ſtir the humours in a diſeaſed body, are at firſt more painful than the malady itſelf; yet certain death is the conſequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are ſaid to come in ſlowly. But beſides that ſomething of this muſt have been, whether there had been any change, or no: beſides that the ſurprize of every change, for the better as well as the worſe, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reaſon, which is plain, and ſcandalous. When the late party was at the helm, thoſe, who were called the *tories*, never put their reſentments in balance with the ſafety of the nation; but chearfully contributed to the common cauſe: now the ſcene is changed, the fallen party ſeems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be paſſive; and in this point, ſtand upon the ſame foot with *papiſts* and *nonjurors*. What would have become

come of the publick, if the preſent great majority had acted thus during the late adminiſtration, before the others were maſters of that wealth they have ſqueezed out of the landed men, and with the ſtrength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to ſay, without pointing reflections upon any particular perſon, which I have hitherto but ſparingly done, and that only towards thoſe, whoſe characters are too profligate, that the managing of them ſhould be of any conſequence. Beſides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of; ſo, in the ſubjects I treat, it is generally needleſs. If I diſplay the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of groſs immorality and irreligion; thoſe, who are the leaſt converſant in things, will eaſily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of ſuch, who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other ſide were the firſt aggreſſors. Not to mention their ſcurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular perſons;

how

how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names to prevent miſtakes? It is good ſometimes to let theſe people ſee, that we neither want ſpirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I ſhall follow their example, whenever I find myſelf ſufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring either general or particular, ſhall be religiouſly true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or ſuch as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being reſolved publickly to confeſs any miſtakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly deſire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers ſaid to be done in the cathedral of *Glouceſter*. A whole *Hydra* of errors, in two words! For, as I am ſince informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of *Glouceſter*, but ſome other church of that dioceſe. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meaneſt hands, I ſhould certainly have anſwered it.

NUM-

## NUMBER XXV.

Thurſday, January 25, 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σῦμπαν ἐπί τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ καθ' τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

*Summiſſa quaedam voce collocuti ſunt, quorum ſumma erat de dominatione ſibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.*

NOT many days ago I obſerved a knot of diſcontented gentlemen, curſing the *tories* to Hell for their uncharitableneſs in affirming, that, if the late miniſtry had continued to this time, we ſhould have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are uſually ſo candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-houſe, or over a bottle, from ſome warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to ſay more than they believed, by ſome poſitions as abſurd and ridiculous of their own. And ſo it proved in this very inſtance: for, aſking one of theſe gentlemen, what it was that provoked thoſe, he had been diſputing with, to advance ſuch a paradox; he

he aſſured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world, but that himſelf and ſome others of the company had made it appear, that the deſign of the preſent parliament, and miniſtry, was to bring in *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *whigs*: becauſe I defy our adverſaries to produce one ſingle reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch deſigns in the perſons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to ſhew, that ſome late men had ſtrong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a ſtorm is over, that hath only untiled our houſes and blown down ſome of our chimnies, to conſider what farther miſchiefs might have enſued, if it had laſted longer. However, in the preſent caſe I am not of the opinion abovementioned. I believe the church and ſtate might have laſted *ſomewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done their worſt. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been ſo ſoon ripe for a

new

new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make ſuch large and ſudden ſtrides, it muſt have come to blows; and, according to the computation we have now reaſon to think a right one, I can partly gueſs, what would have been the iſſue. Beſides, we are ſure the QUEEN would have interpoſed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But, inſtead of this queſtion, What would have been the conſequence, if the late miniſtry had continued; I will propoſe another, which will be more uſeful for us to conſider; and that is, *What we may reaſonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again?* This, we know, is the deſign and endeavour of all thoſe ſcribbles, which daily fly about in their favour; of all the falſe, inſolent, and ſcandalous libels againſt the preſent adminiſtration; and of all thoſe engines, ſet at work to ſink the *actions*, and blow up the publick credit. As for thoſe, who ſhew their inclinations by writing, there is one conſideration, which I wonder doth not ſome-

ſometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleneſs and innocence of thoſe, who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an inſolent, pragmatical orator ſomewhere in *Greece*, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the ſtate, was anſwered by one, who had been very inſtrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that *he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wiſhed them in, when every man in that city might ſecurely ſay what he pleaſed.* I wiſh theſe gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their maſters uſed to give; how many meſſengers and warrants would have gone out againſt any, who durſt have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, againſt the perſons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals?* How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *proſecution* and *puniſhment?* We remember, when a poor nick-name*, borrowed from an old play of *Ben Johnſon*, and mentioned in a ſermon without any par-

* *Valpone* was a nick-name given to lord treaſurer *Godolphin.*

ticular application, was made uſe of as a motive to ſpur on an impeachment. But after all it muſt be confeſt, they had reaſons to be thus ſevere, which their ſucceſſors have not: their faults would never endure the light; and to have expoſed them ſooner would have raiſed the kingdom againſt the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the ſubject I have now undertaken, which is, to examine what the conſequences would be, upon ſuppoſition that the *whigs* were now reſtored to their power. I already imagine the preſent free parliament diſſolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two ſtinging votes againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The bill* now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an *Engliſhman* reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But to give the reader a ſtronger imagination of ſuch a ſcene, let me repreſent the deſigns of ſome men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

* A bill for a general naturalization.

" *Ordered,*

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for repeal-
" ing the *ſacramental teſt*.

" A petition of *Tindal*, *Collins*, *Clendon*,
" *Coward*, and *Toland*, in behalf of them-
" ſelves and many hundreds of their diſ-
" ciples, ſome of whom are members of
" this honourable houſe; deſiring that
" leave may be given to bring in a bill for
" qualifying *atheiſts*, *deiſts*, and *ſocinians* to
" ſerve their country in any employment
" eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military.

" *Ordered*,

" That leave be given to bring in a bill
" according to the prayer of the ſaid pe-
" tition; and that Mr. *Lechmere** do pre-
" pare and bring in the ſame.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for remov-
" ing the education of youth out of the
" hands of the clergy.

" Another to forbid the clergy preach-
" ing certain duties in religion; eſpecially
" *obedience to princes*.

* Mr. *Lechmere* was one of the managers againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*, and ſummed up the evidence.

" Another to take away the juriſdiction " of biſhops.

" Another for conſtituting a general " *for life*; with inſtructions to the com- " mittee, that care may be taken to make " the war laſt as long, as the life of the " ſaid general.

" A bill of attainder againſt *James* duke " of *Ormond*, *John* duke of *Buckingham*, " *Laurence* earl of *Rocheſter*, ſir *Simon* " *Harcourt* knight, *Robert Harley* and " *William Shippen* eſquires, *Abigail Ma-* " *ſham* ſpinſter, and others, for high-trea- " ſon againſt the *junto*.

" *Reſolved*,

" That *Sarah* ducheſs of *Marlborough* " hath been a moſt dutiful, juſt, and " grateful ſervant to her majeſty.

" *Reſolved*,

" That to adviſe the diſſolution of a " *whig* parliament, or the removal of a " *whig* miniſtry, was in order to bring in " *popery* and the *pretender*; and that the " ſaid advice was high-treaſon.

" *Reſolved*,

" That by the *original compact*, the go- " vernment of this realm is by a *junto*, and

" a *king*,

" a *king*, or *queen*; but the *adminiſtration* " ſolely in the *junto*.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for farther " limiting the prerogative.

" *Ordered*,

" That it be a ſtanding order of this " houſe, that the merit of elections be not " determined by the number of voices, " or right of electors, but by weight; and " that one *whig* ſhall weigh down ten " *tories*.

" A motion being made, and the que- " ſtion being put, that when a *whig* is " detected of manifeſt bribery, and his " competitor, being a *tory*, hath ten to " one a majority, there ſhall be a new " election; it paſſed in the negative.

" *Reſolved*,

" That for a king, or queen, of this realm " to read, or examine, a paper brought " them to be ſigned by a *junto* miniſter, " is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation " of the liberties of the people.

Theſe, and the like reformations, would in all probability be the firſt fruits of the

*whigs reſurrection*; and what ſtructures ſuch able artiſts might in a ſhort time build upon ſuch foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation induſtriouſly involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but thoſe whoſe intereſt lay in ruining the conſtitution. I do not ſee, how the wiſeſt prince under ſuch neceſſities could be able to extricate himſelf. Then as to the *church*; the biſhops would by degrees be diſmiſſed, firſt from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at laſt from their office; and the clergy, inſtead of their idle claim of *independency* on the ſtate, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what ſyſtem of future government was deſigned; whether it were already digeſted, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I ſhall not now *examine*. Only upon this occaſion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myſelf. There was a picture drawn ſome time ago, repreſenting five perſons, as large as the life, ſitting

ſitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void ſpace was left for a ſixth, which was to have been the QUEEN, to whom they intended that honour: but her majeſty having ſince fallen under their diſpleaſure, they have made a ſhift to croud in *two better friends* in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy**. This piece is now in the country, reſerved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, *Ireton*, and ſome other predeceſſors.

I muſt now deſire leave to ſay ſomething to a gentleman, who hath been pleaſed to publiſh a diſcourſe againſt a paper of mine relating to the convocation. He promiſeth to *ſet me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language.* I ſuppoſe he means, in compariſon with others, who pretend to anſwer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himſelf as becomes a candid antagoniſt, I believe he is miſtaken. He ſays in his title page, my *repreſentations are unfair, and my reflections unjuſt:* and his

* This heptarchy was the ſerpent with ſeven heads, mentioned in N° 21, 22.

concluſion is yet more ſevere; where he *doubts I and my friends are enraged againſt the* dutch, *becauſe they preſerved us from popery and arbitrary power at the revolution; and ſince that time from being over-run by the exorbitant power of* France, *and becoming a prey to the* pretender. Becauſe this author ſeems in general to write with an honeſt meaning, I would ſeriouſly put to him the queſtion, whether he thinks, *I and my friends* are for *popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pretender?* I omit other inſtances of ſmaller moment, which however do not ſuit in my opinion with *due reflection, or decent language.* The fact relating to the *convocation* came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumſtance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower houſe of *convocation*; it is a very melancholy one, and to me ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a *negative:* and therefore, ſince a great

great majority of the clergy differs from him in ſeveral points he advances, I ſhall rather chuſe to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole ſynod met in one houſe*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their biſhops; and therefore, whether this treatment, ſo extremely *de haut en bas*, ſince their excluſion be ſuitable to primitive cuſtom or primitive humility towards brethren, is not my buſineſs to enquire. One may allow the divine, or apoſtolick right of epiſcopacy, and its great ſuperiority over preſbyters; and yet diſpute the methods of exerciſing the latter, which being of human inſtitution are ſubject to encroachments and uſurpations. I know, every clergyman in a dioceſe hath a great deal of dependence upon his biſhop, and owes him canonical obedience: but I was apt to think, that when the whole repreſentative of the clergy met in a ſynod, they were conſidered in another light; at leaſt ſince they are allowed to have a *negative*. If I am miſtaken, I deſire to be excuſed, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this

this author: ſince in the diſputes about privileges *one ſide muſt recede*; where ſo very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's ſide; and no man can blame them for inſiſting on the ſmall number, that is left. There is one fact, wherein I muſt take occaſion to ſet this author right: that the perſon *, who firſt moved the QUEEN to remit the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was *an eminent inſtrument in the late turn of affairs*; and as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the ſame favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

But I muſt beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controverſy; which would be of very little import to moſt readers, and only miſpend time, that I would gladly employ to better purpoſes. For where it is a man's buſineſs to entertain a whole room-full, it is unmannerly to apply himſelf to a particular perſon, and turn his back upon the reſt of the company.

* Earl of *Oxford*, lord treaſurer.

† This was done by the author's ſolicitation. See *his letters to archbiſhop* King, vol. xii.

NUM-

## NUMBER XXVI.

Thurſday, February 1, 1710.

*Ea autem eſt gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quae cum optimi cujuſque, tum etiam multitudinis, teſtimonio comprobatur.*

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cauſe*. I remember a *fanatick preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that deſign, when he conſidered, that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling for tithes. He certainly had reaſon; and the two caſes are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a neceſſary perſon; you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at thoſe, who hold the pen on the other ſide: you are ſure to be celebrated and careſſed by all your party, to a man: you may affirm and deny what

what you pleaſe without truth or probability, ſince it is but loſs of time to contradict you. Beſides, *commiſeration* is often on your ſide; and you have a pretence to be thought honeſt and diſintereſted for adhering to friends in diſtreſs: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a ſtrong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furniſhed with materials; every one bringing in his *quota*; and falſhood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourſelf in a corner with mighty ſatisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwiſe with us, who engage as volunteers in the ſervice of a flouriſhing miniſtry, in full credit with the QUEEN, and beloved by the people; becauſe they have no ſiniſter ends or dangerous deſigns; but purſue with ſteddineſs and reſolution the true intereſt of both. Upon which account they little want, or deſire, our aſſiſtance; and we may write, till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or

or a *penſion:* beſides, we are refuſed the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of courſe; the readers of our own ſide being as ungentle, and hard to pleaſe, as if we writ againſt them; and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The deſign of their labours, who write on the conquered ſide, is likewiſe of greater importance than *ours:* they are like cordials for dying men, which muſt be repeated; whereas ours are, in the Scripture phraſe, but *meat for babes:* at leaſt, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and thoſe at a diſtance; but their taſk is to keep up the ſinking ſpirits of a whole party.

After ſuch reflections, I cannot be angry with thoſe gentlemen for perpetually writing againſt me; it furniſhes them largely with topicks: and is beſides their proper buſineſs: neither is it affectation, or altogether *ſcorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act ſuitable to our ſeveral provinces: mine is by laying open ſome corruptions in the late management to ſet thoſe, who are ignorant, right in their

their opinions of perſons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and diſprove; and then let the world decide. If *I* were as *they*, my chief endeavour ſhould certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their deſign. Beſides, they have indeed another reaſon for barking inceſſantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a moſt ingenious perſon, as author of it; one who is in great, and very deſerved, reputation with the world both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for publick buſineſs. They were wiſe enough to conſider, what a ſanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadverſion of ſuch a pen; and therefore uſed all the forms of provocation commonly practiſed by little obſcure pedants, who are fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the fame of an adverſary. So nice a taſte have theſe judicious criticks in pretending to diſcover an author

by

by his ſtyle, and manner of thinking! not to mention the juſtice and candour of exhauſting all the ſtale topicks of ſcurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one, who is entirely innocent; and whoſe greateſt fault perhaps is too much *gentleneſs* towards a party, from whoſe *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the eaſe and reputation of ſo deſerving a gentleman, hath at length forced me much againſt my intereſt and inclination to let theſe angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I obſerved, the opinion began to ſpread; and I choſe rather to ſacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reaſon to be aſhamed of: ſtill faithfully promiſing never to diſturb thoſe worthy advocates; but ſuffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any eaſe in it; as phyſicians ſay there is to people in torment, ſuch as men in the gout, or women in labour.

How-

However, I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted to them for one hint, which I ſhall now purſue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late miniſtry I have ſeen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of thoſe, who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I ſaw the poor *virtues* thus dealt at random, I thought the diſpoſers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat* to be drawn, as fortune pleaſed, by the *junto* and their friends. There *Craſſus* drew *liberality* and *gratitude*; *Fulvia*, *humility* and *gentleneſs*; *Clodius*, *piety* and *juſtice*; *Gracchus*, *loyalty* to his prince; *Cinna*, *love of his country and conſtitution*; and ſo of the reſt. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often ſeen of late the whole ſett of diſcarded ſtateſmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for thoſe very qualities, which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did theſe *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues*, when they came into employment; and have they now reſumed them, ſince their diſmiſſions? If they wore them, I am ſure it was *under* their

heir *greatneſs*, and without ever once con-incing the world of their *viſibility* or *in-luence*.

But, why ſhould not the preſent mini-try find a pen to praiſe them, as well as he laſt? This is what I ſhall now under-ake; and it may be more impartial in me, rom whom they have deſerved ſo little. have, *without being called*, ſerved them alf a year in quality of *champion*; and, y help of the QUEEN, and a majority of ine in ten of the kingdom, have been ble to protect them againſt a routed cabal f hated politicians with a dozen of ſcrib-ers at their head: yet, ſo far have they een from rewarding me ſuitable to my leſerts, that to this day they never ſo much s ſent to the *printer* to enquire, who I was; lthough I have known a time and miniſtry, vhere a perſon of half my merit and con-ideration would have had fifty *promiſes*; nd in the mean time, a *penſion* ſettled on im, whereof the *firſt quarter ſhould be ho-neſtly paid*. Therefore my reſentments ſhall o far prevail, that in praiſing thoſe, who re now at the head of affairs, I ſhall at he ſame time take notice of their defects.

Was any man more eminent in his profeſſion than the preſent *lord keeper* *, or more diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence and great abilities in the houſe of commons? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great ſtation he now adorns? But then it muſt be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the ſpeculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphoſe a ſober man into a *lunatick*; he is no *free-thinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheiſtical book, while he is guardian of the QUEEN's conſcience. Although after all, to ſpeak my private opinion, I cannot think theſe ſuch mighty objections to his character, as ſome would pretend.

The perſon † who now preſides at the council, is deſcended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people*; he was at the head of the treaſury for ſome years, and rather choſe to enrich his prince than himſelf. In the

* Sir *Simon Harcourt*, afterwards lord *Harcourt*, was made lord keeper upon the reſignation of lord chancellor *Cowper*.

† *Laurence Hyde*, late earl of *Rocheſter*, in the room of lord *Somers*.

heighth

heighth of favour and credit, he ſacrificed the greateſt employment in the kingdom to his *conſcience* and *honour*; he hath been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for ſupporting the prerogative of the crown, and preſerving the liberties of the people. But then his beſt friends muſt own, that he is neither *deiſt* nor *ſocinian*; he hath never converſed with *Toland* to open and enlarge his thoughts, and diſpel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and impriſon the huſband, in order to keep the wife without diſturbance.*

The preſent *lord ſteward** hath been always diſtinguiſhed for his wit and knowledge; is of conſummate wiſdom and experience in affairs; hath continued conſtant to the true intereſt of the nation, which he eſpouſed from the beginning; and is every way qualified to ſupport the dignity of his office: but in point of *oratory*, muſt give place to his predeceſſor.

* The duke of *Buckingham* and *Normanby*, in the room of the duke of *Devonſhire*.

The duke of *Shrewſbury** was highly inſtrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which ſervice he freely expoſed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being poſſeſſed of all the amiable qualities that can accompliſh a great man; but in the agreeableneſs and fragrancy of his perſon, and the profoundneſs of his politicks, muſt be allowed to fall very ſhort of ——.

Mr. *Harley*† had the honour of being choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments. He was the firſt of late years, who ventured to reſtore the forgotten cuſtom of treating his PRINCE with *duty* and *reſpect*; eaſy and diſengaged in private converſation with ſuch a weight of affairs upon his ſhoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity; and a deſpiſer of money; purſuing the true intereſt of his PRINCE and country againſt all obſtacles; ſagacious to view into the remoteſt

* Lord chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of *Kent*.

† Chancellor of the exchequer upon the removal of lord *Godolphin*.

con-

conſequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; ſacrificing his juſteſt reſentments, not only to publick good, but to common interceſſion and acknowledgment. Yet with all theſe virtues, it muſt be granted, there is ſome mixture of human infirmity. His greateſt admirers muſt confeſs his ſkill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and ſuperficial; in *horſe-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then to ſave a few millions to the publick, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb. And ſurely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he uſeth as if they were *gentlemen*.

My lord *Dartmouth** is a man of letters, full of good ſenſe, good nature, and honour; of ſtrict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his ſtation have done the QUEEN.

* He ſucceeded the earl of *Sunderland* as ſecretary of ſtate.

Omitting ſome others, I ſhall cloſe this character of the preſent *miniſtry* with that of Mr. *St. John* †, who from his youth applying thoſe admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to publick buſineſs, grew eminent in court and parliament at an age, when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himſelf a *buſy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wiſdom, to be *difficult of acceſs*. Beſides, he hath clearly miſtaken the true uſe of *books*, which he hath thumbed, and ſpoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his ſhelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face; although he had never converſed with the former, and often with the latter.

† Secretary of ſtate in the room of Mr. *Henry Boyle*.

## NUMBER XXVII.

Thurſday, February 8, 1710.

*Caput eſt in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiae pellatur etiam minima ſuſpicio.*

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to ſuch wild extremes, as that of *avarice*. Thoſe two, which ſeem to rival it in this point, are luſt and ambition: but the former is checked by difficulties and diſeaſes, deſtroys itſelf by its own purſuits, and uſually declines with old age; and the latter, requiring courage conduct and fortune in a high degree, and meeting with a thouſand dangers and oppoſitions, ſucceeds too ſeldom in an age to fall under common obſervation. Or, avarice is perhaps the ſame paſſion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and daſtardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man purſues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which laſt is the ſafer way, although longer

about; and, ſuiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this paſſion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree ſo abſurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *ſtage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very ſhort in the repreſentations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind deſcribed by ancient or modern comedies, which are not out-done by an hundred inſtances, commonly told among ourſelves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice, which keeps ſo firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with ſo unlimited a tyranny, ſince it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at leaſt to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never ſuffered to prey upon the publick; and ſhould certainly be rejected as the moſt unqualifying circumſtance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can poſſibly enter.

If

If the miſchiefs of this vice in a publick ſtation were confined to enriching only thoſe particular perſons employed, the evil would be more ſupportable: but it is uſually quite otherwiſe. When a *ſteward* defrauds his *lord*, he muſt connive at the *reſt of the ſervants*, while they are following the ſame practice in their ſeveral ſpheres: ſo that in ſome families you may obſerve a ſubornation of knaves in a link downwards to the very *helper* in the ſtables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the maſter could bear it without being undone; but it ſo happens, that for every ſhilling the ſervant gets by his iniquity, the maſter loſeth twenty; the perquiſites of ſervants being but ſmall compoſitions for ſuffering ſhopkeepers to bring in what bills they pleaſe. It is exactly the ſame thing in a ſtate: an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his diſtrict, or dependence; which in modern terms of art is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the ſmalleſt part of the publick's loſs. Give a guinea to a knaviſh *land-waiter*, and he ſhall connive at

at the merchant for cheating the QUEEN of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of ſelling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the publick is at the whole loſs.

Moraliſts make two kinds of avarice: that of *Cataline*, *alieni appetens*, *ſui profuſus*; and the other more generally underſtood by that name, which is the endleſs deſire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a ſtate, becauſe it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the ſame breaſt may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not in my opinion much to be apprehended from ambition. The diſgrace of that ſordid vice is ſooner apt to ſpread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and ſcorn of the people: ſo that whenever thoſe two paſſions happen to meet in the ſame ſubject, it is not unlikely that providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reaſon to think, *ſome great miniſters of ſtate* have been of my opinion.

The

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philoſophers, the laſhes and ridicule of ſatyrical poets, have been all employed in exploding this inſatiable thirſt of money; and all equally controuled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing new remains to be ſaid upon the occaſion; and if there did, I muſt remember my character, that I am an *Examiner* only, and not a *Reformer*.

However, in thoſe caſes where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the publick welfare, ſuch as a prime miniſter of ſtate, or a great general of an army; methinks there ſhould be ſome expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompaſſed with a crowd of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuſe. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly loſt, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in publick againſt their prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or paſſing only for libel and ſlander proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have

I have ſometimes thought, that if I had lived at *Rome* in the time of the firſt *triumvirate*, I ſhould have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to thoſe three great men, who had then uſurped the ſovereign power; wherein I would freely and ſincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was moſt odious, and of worſt conſequence to the commonwealth. That to *Craſſus* ſhould have been ſent to him after his conqueſts in *Meſopotamia*, and in the following terms.

" To *Marcus Craſſus*, health.

" IF you apply, as you ought, what I
" now write, you will be more obliged
" to me than to all the world, hardly ex-
" cepting your parents, or your country.
" I intend to tell you without diſguiſe or
" prejudice the opinion, which the world
" hath entertained of you; and to let you
" ſee, I write this without any ſort of ill
" will, you ſhall firſt hear the ſentiments
" they have to your advantage. No man
" diſputes the gracefulneſs of your perſon;
" you are allowed to have a good and
" clear

" clear underſtanding, cultivated by the
" knowledge of men and manners, al-
" though not by *literature*; you are no ill
" orator in the ſenate; you are ſaid to ex-
" cel in the art of bridling and ſubduing
" your anger, and ſtifling or concealing
" your reſentments; you have been a moſt
" ſucceſsful general, of long experience,
" great conduct, and much perſonal cou-
" rage; you have gained many important
" victories for the commonwealth, and
" forced the ſtrongeſt towns in *Meſopo-*
" *tamia* to ſurrender, for which frequent
" *ſupplications* have been decreed by the
" ſenate. Yet with all theſe qualities, and
" this merit, give me leave to ſay, you are
" neither beloved by the *Patricians* nor
" *Plebeians* at home, nor by the officers
" or private ſoldiers of your own army
" abroad. And do you know, *Craſſus*,
" that this is owing to a fault, of which
" you may cure yourſelf by one minute's
" reflection? What ſhall I ſay? You are
" the richeſt perſon in the commonwealth;
" you have no male child; your daughters
" are all married to wealthy *Patricians*;
" you are far in the decline of life, and

" yet

" yet you are deeply ſtained with that o-
" dious and ignoble vice of *covetouſneſs*.
" It is affirmed, that you deſcend even to
" the meaneſt and moſt ſcandalous de-
" grees of it; and while you poſſeſs ſo
" many millions, while you are daily ac-
" quiring ſo many more, you are ſolicitous
" how to ſave a ſingle *ſeſterce*; of which
" an hundred ignominious inſtances are
" produced, and in all mens mouths. I
" will only mention that paſſage of the
" *buſkins**, which after abundance of per-
" ſuaſion, you would hardly ſuffer to be
" cut from your legs, when they were ſo
" wet and cold, that to have kept them
" on would have endangered your life.

" Inſtead of uſing the common argu-
" ments to diſſuade you from this weak-
" neſs, I will endeavour to convince you,
" that you are really guilty of it; and leave
" the cure to your own good ſenſe. For per-
" haps you are not yet perſuaded that this
" is your crime; you have probably never
" yet been reproached for it to your face;
" and what you are now told comes from

* Wet ſtockings.

" one

" one unknown, and it may be from an " enemy. You will allow yourſelf indeed " to be prudent in the management of " your fortune; you are not a prodigal, " like *Clodius*, or *Cataline*; but ſurely that " deſerves not the name of *avarice*. I will " inform you how to be convinced. Diſ- " guiſe your perſon, go among the com- " mon people in *Rome*, introduce diſ- " courſes about yourſelf, enquire your own " character: do the ſame in your camp; " walk about it in the evening, hearken " at every tent; and if you do not hear " every mouth cenſuring, lamenting, curſ- " ing this vice in you, and even you for " this vice, conclude yourſelf innocent. " If you be not yet perſuaded, ſend for " *Atticus*, *Servius Sulpicius*, *Cato*, or *Bru-* " *tus*; they are all your friends; conjure " them to tell you ingenuouſly, which is " your great fault, and which they would " chiefly wiſh you to correct; if they do " not agree in their verdict, *in the name of* " *all the gods*, you are acquitted.

" When your adverſaries reflect how " far you are gone in this vice, they are " tempted to talk as if we owed our ſuc- " ceſſes not to your courage or conduct,

" but

" but to thoſe *veteran* troops you com-
" mand; who are able to conquer under
" any *general*, with ſo many brave and
" experienced officers to lead them. Be-
" ſides, we know the conſequences your
" avarice hath often occaſioned. The
" ſoldier hath been ſtarving for bread,
" ſurrounded with plenty, and in an ene-
" my's country; but all under *ſafeguards*
" and *contributions*; which, if you had
" ſometimes pleaſed to have exchanged
" for *proviſions*, might, at the expence of
" a few talents in a campaign, have ſo
" endeared you to the army, that they
" would have deſired you to lead them to
" the utmoſt limits of *Aſia*. But you
" rather choſe to confine your conqueſts
" within the fruitful country of *Meſopo-*
" *tamia*, where plenty of money might
" be raiſed. How far that fatal greedineſs
" of gold may have influenced you in
" breaking off the treaty with the old
" *parthian* king *Orodes*, you beſt can tell;
" your enemies charge you with it; your
" friends offer nothing material in your
" defence; and all agree, there is nothing
" ſo pernicious, which the extremes of a-
" varice may not be able to inſpire.

" The

" The moment you quit this vice, you " will be a truly great man; and ſtill there " will imperfections enough remain to con- " vince us, you are not a *god*. Farewel."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, ſent to ſo reaſonable a man as *Craſſus*, might have put him upon *examining* into himſelf, and correcting that little ſordid appetite ſo utterly inconſiſtent with all pretences to *heroiſm*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that he is not able to ſubdue his luſts. An ambitious man may uſe the ſame arguments for his love of power; or perhaps other arguments to juſtify it. But exceſs of avarice hath neither of theſe pleas to offer; it is not to be juſtified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuſe. Whence can the temptation come? Reaſon diſclaims it altogether; and it cannot be ſaid to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal ſpirits*. So that I conclude, *no man of true valour, and true underſtanding, upon whom this vice hath ſtolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will ſuffer it to remain in his breaſt an hour.*

## NUMBER XXVIII.

Thurſday, February 15, 1710.

*Inultus ut tu riſeris Cotyttia?*

*An anſwer to the* letter *to the* Examiner.

SIR, *London, Feb.* 15. 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leiſure to acknowledge the honour of a letter, you was pleaſed to write to me about ſix months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying ſome of your commands, and am going on as faſt as I can with the reſt. I wiſh you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-houſe:* for, although I was pleaſed with a pattern of ſtyle and ſpirit, which I propoſed to imitate, yet I was ſorry the world ſhould be a witneſs how far I fell ſhort in both.

I am afraid you did not conſider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promiſe you are ſo kind to make, that when

when I *have performed my taſk*, D—— n *ſhall bluſh in his grave among the dead*, Walpole *among the living, and even* Volpone *ſhall feel ſome remorſe*. How the gentleman in his *grave* may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the ſexton: but for the *other two*, I take leave to aſſure you, there have not yet appeared the leaſt ſigns of *bluſhing* or *remorſe* in either, although *ſome very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them: ſo that with your permiſſion, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they* be *in their graves* too; which I am ſure will happen much ſooner than the other.

You deſire I would collect *ſome of thoſe indignities offered laſt year to her majeſty*. I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publiſh by itſelf in a *large volume in folio*, or ſcatter them here and there occaſionally in my papers. Although indeed I am ſometimes thinking to ſtifle them altogether; becauſe ſuch a hiſtory will be apt to give foreigners a monſtrous opinion of our country. But

ſince it is your abſolute opinion, that the world ſhould be informed; I will with the firſt occaſion pick out a few *choice inſtances*, and let them take their chance in the enſuing papers. I have likewiſe in my cabinet, certain quires of paper filled with facts of corruption, miſmanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to ſave trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be ſo well provided, when you conſider the vaſt expence I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit-ſtarved* writers, who have no other viſible ſupport; beſides ſeveral others, who live upon my offals. In ſhort, I am like a nurſe, who ſuckles twins at one time; and hath beſides *one or two whelps* conſtantly to draw her breaſts.

I muſt needs confeſs (and it is with grief I ſpeak it) that I have been the innocent cauſe of a great circulation of dulneſs: at the ſame time I have often wondered, how it hath come to paſs, that theſe induſtrious people after poring ſo conſtantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain ſenſe and in a tolerable ſtyle, have

have made ſo little improvement. I am ſure it would have fallen out quite otherwiſe with me: for by what I have ſeen of their performances (and I am credibly informed, they are all of a piece) if I had peruſed them until now, I ſhould have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the ſame cauſe.

You, ſir, perhaps will wonder, as moſt others do, what end theſe angry folks propoſe in writing perpetually againſt the *Examiner:* it is not to beget a better opinion of the late miniſtry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be loſt labour, and yet their deſign is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all ſorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to anſwer their papers; which would render mine wholly uſeleſs to the publick: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we ſhould be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman * indeed, who hath written three ſmall pamphlets upon

* Dr. *Hare*, afterwards biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. Theſe I had intended to have beſtowed a paper in *examining*; and could eaſily have made it appear, that whatever he ſays of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controuls one ſyllable of what I have ever advanced. No body that I know of, did ever diſpute the duke of *Marlborough's* courage, conduct, or ſucceſs; they have been always unqueſtionable, and will continue to be ſo in ſpight of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakneſs of his advocates*. The nation only wiſhes to ſee him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late miniſtry, the ſhameful miſmanagements in *Spain*, or the wrong ſteps in the treaty of peace; the ſecret of which will not bear the light, and is conſequently, by this author very poorly defended? Theſe, and many other things, I would have ſhewn; but upon ſecond thoughts, determined to have it done in a diſcourſe by itſelf, rather than take up room here, and break into the deſign of this paper, from whence I have reſolved to baniſh controverſy

verſy as much as poſſible. But the poſtſcript to his third pamphlet was enough to diſguſt me from having any dealings at all with ſuch a writer; unleſs that part was left to ſome *footman* he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whoſe character it would ſuit much better than that of the ſuppoſed author: at leaſt, the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the groſs perverting of an innocent expreſſion in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that reſpect I ſhall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe ſo. But when he turns off his *footman*, and diſclaims that poſtſcript, I will tear it out, and ſee how far the reſt deſerves to be conſidered.

But ſir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I ſhould be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one ſide by the *whigs* for being too *ſevere*; and by the *tories* on the other for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better repreſent my condition, or the opinion which the

warm men of both ſides have of my conduct, than to ſend you a tranſcript of each. The former is exactly in theſe words:

" To the *Examiner*.

" Mr. EXAMINER,

" BY your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the late miniſtry, and by your encomiums on the preſent, it is *as clear as the ſun at noon-day*, that you are a *jeſuit*, or *nonjuror*, employed by the friends of the *pretender* to endeavour to introduce *popery* and *ſlavery* and *arbitrary power*, and to infringe the *ſacred* act for *toleration of diſſenters*. Now ſir, ſince *the moſt ingenious authors*, who write weekly againſt you, are not able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that thoſe great and excellent men, as low as you think them at preſent, do not want friends that will take the firſt proper occaſion to *cut your throat*, as all ſuch enemies to moderation ought to be ſerved. It is well you have cleared another perſon from being author of your curſed libels; although,

" d—m

" d—m me, perhaps after all, that may " be a *bamboozle* too. However, I hope " we ſhall ſoon ferret you out. Therefore " I adviſe you as a friend to let fall your " pen, and retire betimes; for our patience " is now at an end. It is enough to loſe " our power and employments, without " ſetting the whole nation againſt us. " Conſider, three years is the life of a " *party*; d—m me, *every dog hath his day*, " and it will be our turn next: therefore " take warning, and learn to *ſleep in a* " *whole ſkin*; or, whenever we are upper- " moſt, by G—d you ſhall find no mer- " cy."

The other letter was in the following terms:

" To the *Examiner*,

" SIR,

" I am a *country member*, and conſtant- " ly ſend a dozen of your papers down to " my *electors*. I have read them all, but " I confeſs, not with the ſatisfaction I ex- " pected. It is plain you know a great

" deal

" deal more than you write: why will you
" not let us have it all out? We are told,
" that the QUEEN hath been a long time
" treated with inſolence by thoſe, ſhe
" hath moſt obliged. Pray ſir, let us have
" a few good ſtories upon that head. We
" have been cheated of ſeveral millions;
" why will not you ſet a mark on the
" knaves who are guilty, and ſhew us
" what ways they took to rob the publick
" at ſuch a rate? Inform us, how we came
" to be diſappointed of peace about two
" years ago. In ſhort, turn the whole
" myſtery of iniquity inſide out, that e-
" very body may have a view of it. But
" above all explain to us, what was the
" bottom of that ſame *impeachment:* I am
" ſure I never liked it; for at that very
" time a *diſſenting* preacher in our neigh-
" bourhood came often to ſee our parſon;
" it could be for no good, for he would
" walk about the barns and the ſtables,
" and deſired to look into the church, as
" *who ſhould ſay, Theſe will ſhortly be mine:*
" and we all believed, he was then con-
" triving ſome alterations, againſt he got
" into poſſeſſion. And I ſhall never forget
that

" that a *whig juſtice* offered me then very " high for my biſhop's leaſe. I muſt be " ſo bold to tell you, ſir, that you are too " favourable: I am ſure there was no living " in quiet for us, while they were in the " *ſaddle.* I was turned out of the commiſ- " ſion, and called a *jacobite*, although it " coſt me a thouſand pounds in joining " with the prince of *Orange* at the *revo-* " *lution.* The diſcoveries I would have you " make, are of ſome facts, for which they " ought to be hanged; not that I value " their heads, but I would ſee them ex- " poſed, which may be done upon the " *owners ſhoulders* as well as upon a *pole.*" *etc.*

Theſe, ſir, are the ſentiments of a whole party on one ſide, and of conſiderable numbers on the other: however, taking the *medium* between theſe extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am ſenſible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable ſide. For nothing delights the people more, than to ſee their oppreſſors humbled, and all their actions painted with

with proper colours, ſet out in open view, *exactos tyrannos denſum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

But as for the *whigs*, I am in ſome doubt, whether this mighty concern, they ſhew for the honour of the late miniſtry, may not be affected; at leaſt whether their maſters will thank them for their zeal in ſuch a cauſe. It is, I think, a known ſtory of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him *ſon of a whore*; that the lady deſired her ſon to make no more quarrels upon that ſubject, *becauſe it was true.* For pray, ſir, doth it not look like a jeſt, that ſuch a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and diſcovering the moſt deſtructive deſigns againſt our church and ſtate, inſtead of thanking fortune that they are got off ſafe in their perſons and plunder, ſhould hire theſe bullies of the pen, to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardeſt caſe in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among ſharpers, where he loſt all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for*

*offering*

*offering to affront gentlemen.* I believe the only reaſon, why theſe purloiners of the publick cauſe ſuch a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquiſitions that might tend towards making them refund: like thoſe women they call *ſhop-lifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being ſearched.

I will diſmiſs you, ſir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have obſerved in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the earl of *Rocheſter* is frequently reflected on for having been *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioner*, and *lord treaſurer*, in the reign of the late king *James*. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that becauſe he could not comply with the meaſures then taking, he reſigned both thoſe employments; of which the latter was immediately ſupplied by a commiſſion, compoſed of two popiſh lords, and the preſent earl of *Godolphin*.

## NUMBER XXIX.

Thurſday, February 22, 1710.

*Laus ſumma in fortunae bonis, non extuliſſe ſe in poteſtate, non fuiſſe inſolentem in pecunia, non ſe praetuliſſe aliis propter abundantiam fortunae.*

I AM conſcious to myſelf, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late miniſtry; nor advantage from the preſent, farther than in common with every good ſubject. There were among the former one or two, who muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed very valuable qualities; but proceeding by a ſyſtem of politicks which our conſtitution could not ſuffer, and diſcovering a contempt of all religion, eſpecially of that which hath been ſo happily eſtabliſhed among us ever ſince the reformation; they ſeem to have been juſtly ſuſpected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is poſſible, that a man may ſpeculatively prefer the conſtitution of another coun-

country, or an *Utopia* of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from conſidering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impoſſibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preſerving the preſent order of things, and be a true friend to the government already ſettled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proſelytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or diſcourſe; if according to the common atheiſtical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and that the preſent model is better adjuſted than any other to ſo uſeful an end; although the condition of ſuch a man, as to his own future ſtate, be very deplorable; yet providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even ſuch a man an inſtrument for contributing towards the preſervation of the church.

On the other ſide; I take a ſtate to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and govern-

government, when a ſett of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the conſtitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting theſe qualities in order to keep or increaſe their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in (like *Mahomet)* ſome principles from every party, that is in any way diſcontented at the preſent faith and ſettlement; which was manifeſtly our caſe. Upon this occaſion, I remember to have aſked ſome conſiderable *whigs*, whether it did not bring a diſreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of preſbyterians, independents, atheiſts, anabaptiſts, deiſts, quakers, and *ſocinians* openly and univerſally liſted under their banners? They anſwered, that all this was abſolutely neceſſary in order to make a balance againſt the *tories*; and all little enough: for indeed, it was as much as they could poſſibly do, although aſſiſted with the abſolute power of diſpoſing every employment; while the bulk of the *engliſh* gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and ſtate.

But notwithſtanding what I have hitherto ſaid, I am informed, ſeveral among the

the *whigs* continue ſtill ſo refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any deſigns of ruining the conſtitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have diſcovered a ſecret; but who could imagine they ever intended it ſhould be one after thoſe *overt acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce*? But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorouſly; that the queſtion may remain, *why was the old miniſtry changed*, which they urge *on* without ceaſing, as if no occaſion in the leaſt had been given; but that all were owing to the inſinuations of crafty men, practiſing upon the weakneſs of an eaſy prince: I ſhall therefore offer among an hundred one reaſon for this change, which I think would juſtify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the hiſtories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever juſtly odious to the people

for their inſolence and avarice, and engroſſing the favours of their maſters. Whoever hath been the leaſt converſant in the *engliſh* ſtory, cannot but have heard of *Gaveſton*, the *Spencers*, and ſome others; who by the exceſs and abuſe of their power coſt the princes they ſerved, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the caſe of *minions*, it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that the prince is pleaſed and happy, although his ſubjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendſhip to excuſe him, which is a diſpoſition of generous minds. Beſides, a wiſe *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and inſinuating to his maſter, and cultivates his favour by obedience and reſpect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worſe; we have ſuffered for ſome years under the oppreſſion, the avarice, and inſolence of thoſe, for whom the QUEEN had neither eſteem nor friendſhip; who rather ſeemed to ſnatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their ſovereign; and were ſo far from returning reſpect, that they forgot common good manners. They impoſed on their prince, by

by urging the *neceſſity of affairs* of their own creating: they firſt raiſed difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themſelves in power. They united themſelves, againſt nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full poſſeſſion of the court: then they urged the formidable ſtrength of that party, and the dangers which muſt follow by diſobliging it. So that it ſeems almoſt a miracle, how a princeſs thus beſieged on all ſides could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herſelf.

And indeed there is a point of hiſtory relating to this matter, which well deſerveth to be conſidered. When her majeſty came to the crown, ſhe took into favour and employment ſeveral perſons, who were eſteemed the beſt friends of the old conſtitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are uſually called) than two or three who had at that time moſt credit; and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, poſſeſſed all power at court. So

that the firſt umbrage given to the *whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring againſt *France* and the *pretender*, were derived from them. And I believe, nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that ſuch different opinions ſhould ever incorporate; that party having upon former occaſions treated thoſe very perſons with enmity enough. But ſome lords then about court, and in the QUEEN's good graces, not able to endure thoſe growing impoſitions upon the prince and people, preſumed to interpoſe; and were conſequently ſoon removed and diſgraced. However, when a moſt exorbitant grant was propoſed, antecedent to any viſible merit, it miſcarried in parliament for want of being ſeconded by thoſe, who had moſt credit in the houſe; and who, having always oppoſed the like exceſſes in a former reign, thought it their duty to do ſo ſtill to ſhew the world, that the diſlike was not againſt perſons, but things. But this was to croſs the *oligarchy* in the tendereſt point; a point which outweighed all conſiderations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the conſtitution: and therefore, after having

in

in ſeveral private meetings concerted meaſures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their ſtyle and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emiſſaries, that *England muſt be ſaved by whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of ſecurity*, and the conſequences of it, which every body knows; when (to uſe the words of my correſpondent *) *the ſovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchaſe of indemnity for an offending miniſter*. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the miniſtry and the *junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that ſtorm they ſo narrowly eſcaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till prince *George's* † death; and then they went lovingly on together, both ſatisfied with their ſeveral ſhares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the firſt, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and ſtate.

* Letter to the *Examiner*.

† Prince *George* of *Denmark*, huſband to the queen.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled queſtion, *why was the late miniſtry changed*, may receive the following anſwer: that it was become neceſſary by the inſolence and avarice of ſome about the QUEEN, who in order to perpetuate their tyranny had made a monſtrous alliance with thoſe, who profeſs principles deſtructive to our religion and government. If this will not ſuffice; let him make an abſtract of all the abuſes I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which if he ſtill remain unſatisfied, let him ſuſpend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although after all, I think the queſtion as trifling as that of the papiſts, when they aſk us, *where was our religion before* Luther? And indeed the miniſtry was changed for the ſame reaſons that religion was reformed; becauſe a thouſand corruptions had crept into the *diſcipline* and *doctrine* of the *ſtate* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of thoſe, *who adminiſtered to us in ſecular affairs.*

I heard myſelf cenſured the other day in a coffee-houſe for ſeeming to glance in the

the letter to *Craſſus* againſt a great man, who is ſtill in employment, and likely to continue ſo. What if I had really intended that ſuch an application ſhould be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be juſtly blamed for ſo gentle a reproof. If I ſaw a handſome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *ſmut* upon his face; could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and deſire him with abundance of good words to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glaſs, where he might plainly ſee it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I ſhall ſuffer my pen to inveigh againſt vices, only becauſe they are charged upon perſons, who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or leſs pernicious according to the ſtations of thoſe, who poſſeſs them. For example, lewdneſs and intemperance are not of ſo bad conſequences in a town-rake, as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more ſupportable, than in an officer of the army. If I ſhould find fault with an admiral, becauſe he wanted *politeneſs*; or an alderman, for not underſtanding *Greek*; that indeed

would be to go out of the way for occaſion of quarrelling. But exceſſive avarice in a general is, I think, the greateſt defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as it was in *Craſſus*, who to that vice alone owed the deſtruction of himſelf and his army. It is the ſame thing in praiſing mens excellencies; which are more or leſs valuable, as the perſon you commend hath occaſion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honeſtly; yet if he be not able to ſpell, he ſhall never have my vote to be a ſecretary. Another may have wit and learning in a poſt where honeſty with plain common ſenſe are of much more uſe. You may praiſe a ſoldier for his ſkill at *cheſs*, becauſe it is ſaid to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treaſurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gameſter*, or a *jockey*.

*P. S.* I have received a letter relating to Mr. *Greenſhields*; the perſon that ſent it may know, that I will ſay ſomething to it in the next paper.

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## NUMBER XXX.

Thurſday, February 22, 1710.

*Quae enim domus tam ſtabilis, quae tam firma civitas eſt, quae non odiis atque diſſidiis funditùs poſſit everti?*

IF we examine what ſocieties of men are in cloſeſt union among themſelves, we ſhall find them either to be thoſe, who are engaged in ſome evil deſign, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in ſeveral countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the ſeveral tribes of *ſharpers*, *thieves*, and *pick-pockets*, with many others, are ſo firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or diſſolve their ſeveral *gangs*: ſo likewiſe thoſe, who are fellow-ſufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are uſually contracted into a very ſtrict union; as we may obſerve in the *papiſts* throughout this kingdom under thoſe real difficulties, which are juſtly put on them; and in the ſeveral ſchiſms of *preſbyterians*, and other

other ſects, under that grievous perſecution of the modern kind, called *want of power*. And the reaſon why ſuch confederacies are kept ſo ſacred and inviolable, is very plain; becauſe in each of thoſe caſes I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one ſpirit in purſuit of one general end, and the intereſt of individuals is not croſſed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both theſe motives are joined to unite the *high-flying whigs* at preſent: they have been always engaged in an *evil deſign*, and of late they are faſt, or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loſs of power. So that whatever deſign a miſchievous crew of dark confederates may poſſibly entertain, who will ſtop at no means to compaſs them, may be juſtly apprehended from theſe.

On the other ſide, thoſe who wiſh well to the publick, and would gladly contribute to its ſervice, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flouriſhes, are ſometimes envious at thoſe in power; ready to over-value their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the meaſure

ſure they have preſcribed for themſelves. There is a farther topick of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retroſpections*, and enquiry into paſt miſcarriages; wherein *ſome* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiſs; while in the mean time theſe diviſions are induſtriouſly fomented by the diſcarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the ſchools of the *jeſuits*, who, when they deſpaired of perverting this nation to *popery* by arguments or plots againſt the ſtate, ſent their emiſſaries to ſubdivide us into ſchiſms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incenſed moderation*; becauſe they ſuppoſe themſelves able to attack the ſtrongeſt of our ſubdiviſions, and to ſubdue us one after another. Nothing better reſembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adverſaries, after he had divided them by a ſtratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this

this ſhould be touched; yet at the ſame time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expoſe* the enemies of the publick weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the firſt ſuſpicion, that any ſteps are made to diſturb it.

But the two chief ſubjects of diſcontent, which upon moſt great changes in the management of publick affairs are apt to breed differences among thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, are what I have juſt now mentioned; a deſire of puniſhing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding *merit* among thoſe who have been any way inſtrumental or conſenting to the change. The firſt of theſe is a point ſo nice, that I ſhall purpoſely wave it: but the latter I take to fall properly within my diſtrict. By *merit* I here underſtand that value, which every man puts upon his own deſervings from the publick. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of *pay-maſter-general* to this ſort of *merit*; or a more noiſy, crowded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to ſettle and adjuſt every man's claim upon that article. I imagine,

imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dreſſed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given as a genealogy and deſcription of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

## *A poetical genealogy and deſcription of* MERIT.

" THAT *true Merit* was the ſon of " *Virtue* and *Honour*; but that there was " likewiſe a ſpurious child, who uſurped " the name, and whoſe parents were *Va-* " *nity* and *Impudence*. That at a diſtance " there was a great reſemblance between " them, and they were often miſtaken for " each other. That the *baſtard iſſue* had " a *loud ſhrill voice*, which was perpetually " employed in *cravings* and *complaints*; " while the other never ſpoke louder than " a *whiſper*, and was often ſo baſhful, that " he could not ſpeak at all. That in all " great aſſemblies the *falſe Merit* would " ſtep before the *true*, and ſtand juſt in " his way; was conſtantly at court, or " great mens *levees*, or whiſpering in ſome " miniſter's ear. That the more you fed

" him,

" him, the more hungry and importunate
" he grew. That he often paſſed for the
" true ſon of *Virtue* and *Honour*, and the
" genuine for an impoſtor. That he was
" born diſtorted and a dwarf, but by force
" of art appeared of a handſome ſhape,
" and taller than the uſual ſize; and that
" none but thoſe, who were wiſe and good
" as well as vigilant, could diſcover his
" littleneſs or deformity. That the *true*
" *Merit* had been often forced to the in-
" dignity of applying to the *falſe* for his
" credit with thoſe in power, and to keep
" himſelf from ſtarving. That *falſe Merit*
" filled the *anti-chambers* with a crew of
" his dependents and creatures, ſuch as
" *projectors, ſchematiſts, occaſional converts*
" *to a party, proſtitute flatterers, ſtarveling*
" *writers, buffoons, ſhallow politicians, empty*
" *orators*, and the like; who all owned
" him for their patron, and grew diſcon-
" tented, if they were not immediately
" fed."

This metaphorical deſcription of *falſe Merit* is, I doubt, calculated for moſt countries in chriſtendom; as to our own, I be-

I believe it may be ſaid with a ſufficient reſerve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deſervings: and I think, I may add without ſuſpicion of flattery, that never any prince had a miniſtry with a better judgment to diſtinguiſh between *falſe* and *real merit*, than that which is now at the helm; or whoſe inclination, as well as intereſt, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be obſerved, that thoſe great and excellent perſons we ſee at the head of affairs, are of the queen's *own*, *perſonal*, *voluntary choice*; not forced upon her by any *inſolent*, *over-grown favourite*, or by the pretended neceſſity of complying with an *unruly faction*.

Yet theſe are the perſons, whom thoſe ſcandals to the preſs in their daily pamphlets and papers openly revile at ſo ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For ſurely no lawful power derived from a prince ſhould be ſo far affronted, as to leave thoſe who are in authority expoſed to every ſcurrilous libeller: becauſe in this point I make a mighty difference

between

between thoſe who are *in*, and thoſe who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their perſons, but the ſtations they are placed in by the ſovereign. And if my diſtinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a ſtranger were to read the invectives which are daily publiſhed againſt the preſent miniſtry, and the outrageous fury of the authors againſt me for cenſuring the laſt; he would not conclude the *whigs* to be at this time in full poſſeſſion of power and favour, and the *tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceaſes to be a wonder, ſince the queen herſelf is no longer ſpared; witneſs the libel publiſhed ſome days ago under the title of *A letter to ſir* Jacob Banks, where the reflections upon her ſacred majeſty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publiſh againſt the moſt obnoxious perſons in a *miniſtry* diſcarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. *Cæſar* indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for preſuming to diſturb him, while he was their priſoner aboard their ſhip. But it was *Cæſar* who did ſo, and he did it to a crew of

of *publick robbers*; and it became the greatneſs of his ſpirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had *they* been in his power and ſent ſuch a meſſage, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madneſs.

I had a letter laſt week relating to Mr. *Greenſhields* an *epiſcopal* clergyman of *Scotland*, and the writer ſeems to be a gentleman of that part of *Britain*. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr. *Greenſhields's* caſe, who has been proſecuted and ſilenced for no other reaſon beſides reading divine ſervice after the manner of the church of *England* to his own congregation, who deſired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me ſays, there is no law in *Scotland* againſt thoſe meetings; and he adds, that the ſentence pronounced againſt Mr. *Greenſhields will ſoon be affirmed, if ſome care be not taken to prevent it.* I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this caſe, and beſides, to treat it juſtly would not come within the compaſs of my paper; therefore I could wiſh the gentleman would undertake it in a diſcourſe by itſelf; and I ſhould be glad

he would inform the publick in one fact; whether *epiſcopal* aſſemblies are freely allowed in *Scotland?* It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence ſome years ago into *England* and *Ireland*, as from a perſecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refuſed to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them ſcrupled when they came among us. It is ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee our *whigs* and *fanaticks* keep ſuch a ſtir about the *ſacred act of toleration*, while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in ſo near a neighbourhood; eſpecially if what the gentleman inſiſts on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons are *epiſcopal*; of which one argument he offereth is the preſent choice of their repreſentatives in both houſes, though oppoſed to the utmoſt by the *preachings*, *threatenings*, and *anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such uſage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous conſequence; and I entirely agree with him. If theſe be the principles of the *high-kirk*, God preſerve, at leaſt the ſouthern parts from their tyranny.

NUM-

## NUMBER XXXI.

Thurſday, March 8, 1710.

——— *Garrit aniles*
*Ex re fabellas.*

I Had laſt week ſent me by an unknown hand a paſſage out of *Plato*, with ſome hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of *Ariſtophanes*, with an account of the original of *love*: that mankind was at firſt created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till *Jupiter*, as a puniſhment for his ſins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; ſince which time we are always looking out for our other half; and this is the cauſe of *love*. But *Jupiter* threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them t'other ſlit, and leave them to hop about in the ſhape of figures in *baſſo relievo*. The effect of this laſt threatening, my correſpondent imagines, is now come to paſs; and that as the firſt *ſplitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to ſearch for our other half;

ſo the ſecond was the cauſe of *hatred* by prompting us to fly from our *other ſide*, and dividing the ſame *body* into two, gave each ſlice the name of a *party*.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for *parties* do not only ſplit a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their ſtrength, and wit, and honeſty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their ſight and hearing, and equally lopping the reſt of the ſenſes. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a ſtate, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adverſaries. Beſides, *party* being a dry, diſagreeable ſubject, it renders converſation inſipid, or ſour, and confines invention. I ſpeak not here of the leaders, but the inſignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the inſtruments of mixing it in every condition and circumſtance of life. As the zealots among the *Jews* bound the law about their foreheads, and wriſts, and hems of their garments, ſo the women among us have got the diſtinguiſhing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *whig* ladies put on their patches

patches in a different manner from the *tories*. They have made *ſchiſms* in the *play-houſe*, and each have their particular ſides at the *opera*: and when a man changeth his *party*, he muſt infallibly count upon the loſs of his miſtreſs. I aſked a gentleman the other day, how he liked ſuch a lady? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had anſwered him whether ſhe were a *whig* or a *tory*. Mr. ——, ſince he is known to viſit the preſent miniſtry, and lay ſome time under a ſuſpicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a man of *wit*; his very *poems* have contracted a ſtupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *party*, or rather of *faction*, (to avoid miſtake) not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows:

"LIBERTY, the daughter of *Op-*
"*preſſion*, after having brought forth ſeve-
"ral fair children, as *Riches*, *Arts*, *Learn-*

" *ing*, *Trade*, and many others, was at laſt
" delivered of her youngeſt daughter, call-
" ed FACTION, whom *Juno*, doing the of-
" fice of the midwife, diſtorted in its birth
" out of envy to the mother, from whence
" it derived its *peeviſhneſs* and ſickly con-
" ſtitution. However, as it is often the
" nature of parents to grow moſt fond of
" their youngeſt and diſagreeableſt chil-
" dren, ſo it happened with *Liberty*, who
" doated on this daughter to ſuch a de-
" gree, that by her good will ſhe would
" never ſuffer the girl to be out of her ſight.
" As miſs *Faction* grew up, ſhe became ſo
" termagant and froward, that there was
" no enduring her any longer in *Heaven*.
" *Jupiter* gave her warning to be gone;
" and her mother, rather than forſake her,
" took the whole family down to *earth*.
" She landed firſt in *Greece*; was expelled
" by degrees through all the cities by her
" daughter's ill conduct: fled afterwards
" to *Italy*, and being baniſhed thence, took
" ſhelter among the *Goths*, with whom ſhe
" paſſed into moſt parts of *Europe*; but,
" being driven out every where, ſhe began
" to loſe eſteem, and her daughter's faults

" were

" were imputed to herſelf: ſo that at " this time ſhe has hardly a place in the " world to retire to. One would wonder " what ſtrange qualities this daughter muſt " poſſeſs, ſufficient to blaſt the influence " of ſo divine a mother, and the reſt of her " children. She always affected to keep " mean and ſcandalous company; valuing " no body, but juſt as they agreed with " her in every capricious opinion ſhe " thought fit to take up; and rigorouſly " exacting compliance, though ſhe chang- " ed her ſentiments ever ſo often. Her " great employment was to breed *diſcord* " among friends and relations, and make up " monſtrous alliances between thoſe, whoſe " diſpoſitions leaſt reſembled each other. " Whoever offered to contradict her, though " in the moſt inſignificant trifle, ſhe would " be ſure to diſtinguiſh by ſome ignomini- " ous *appellation*, and allow them to have " neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, " honeſty, or common ſenſe. She intruded " into all companies at the moſt unſeaſon- " able times; mixed at balls, aſſemblies, " and other parties of pleaſure, haunted " every *coffee-houſe* and *bookſeller's ſhop*, and

" by her perpetual talking filled all places
" with diſturbance and confuſion: ſhe
" buzzed about the *merchant* in the *Ex-*
" *change*, the *divine* in his *pulpit*, and the
" *ſhopkeeper* behind his *counter*. Above all,
" ſhe frequented *publick aſſemblies*, where
" ſhe ſat in the ſhape of an *obſcene*, *ominous*
" *bird*, ready to prompt her *friends* as they
" ſpoke."

If I underſtand this fable of FACTION right, it ought to be applied to thoſe, who ſet themſelves up againſt the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country; which I wiſh the undertakers for the late miniſtry would pleaſe to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of ſpeech they pretend to call ſo great and unforced a majority, with the queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phraſe of the *nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived biſhops and half a ſcore clergymen of the ſame ſtamp with the title of the *church of England*, exclude all the reſt as *ſchiſmaticks*; or like the *preſbyterians* laying the ſame accuſation, with equal juſtice, againſt the eſtabliſhed religion.

And

And here it may be worth enquiring, what are the true characteriſticks of a *faction*; or how it is to be diſtinguiſhed from that great body of the people, who are friends to the conſtitution? The heads of a *faction* are uſually a ſett of upſtarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom ſome great change in a government did at firſt out of their obſcurity produce upon the ſtage. They aſſociate themſelves with thoſe who diſlike the old eſtabliſhment, religious and civil. They are full of new ſchemes in politicks and divinity; they have an incurable hatred againſt the old nobility, and ſtrengthen their party by dependents raiſed from the loweſt of the people. They have ſeveral ways of working themſelves into power; but they are ſure to be called, when a corrupt adminiſtration wants to be ſupported againſt thoſe who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly obſerve that celebrated maxim of preſerving *power* by the ſame arts, by which it is attained. They act with the ſpirit of thoſe, who believe their time is but ſhort; and their firſt care is to heap up immenſe riches at the publick expence; in which they have two ends beſides

beſides that common one of inſatiable avarice, which are to make themſelves neceſſary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compaſs their deſign, which is, inſtead of fitting their principles to the conſtitution, to alter and adjuſt the conſtitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is eaſy determining by this teſt, to which ſide the name of *faction* moſt properly belongs. But however, I will give them any ſyſtem of law or regal government, from *William the conqueror* to this preſent time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of *Cromwell*, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the preſent miniſtry, and ſo great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it muſt appear by ſome actions, which anſwer the idea we uſually conceive from that word. Have they abuſed the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the ſubject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or ſtate? Have they broached any doctrine of hereſy, rebellion,

or

or tyranny? Have any of them treated their ſovereign with inſolence, engroſſed and ſold all her favours, or deceived her by baſe, groſs miſrepreſentations of her moſt faithful ſervants? Theſe are the arts of a *faction*, and whoever hath practiſed them, they and their followers muſt take up with the name.

It is uſually reckoned a *whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been ſo wiſe as to poiſon their underſtandings beforehand. Will they now ſtand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which ſide their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their underſtanding and choice, I believe our adverſaries will hardly deny. They will now refuſe this appeal, and it is reaſonable they ſhould; and I will farther add, that, if our people reſembled the old *Grecians*, there might be danger in ſuch a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at *Athens*, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; Yes, ſays the other, and they will do the ſame to you, when-

whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at preſent under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their ſovereign's preſence, and before the higheſt court of judicature, without any hazard to their perſons.

## NUMBER XXXII.

Thurſday, March 15, 1710.

*Non eſt ea medicina, cum ſanae parti corporis ſcalpellum adhibetur, atque integrae; carnificina eſt iſta, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicae, qui exſecant peſtem aliquam, tanquam ſtrumam civitatis.*

I AM diverted from the general ſubject of my diſcourſes to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and ſurpriſing nature. A great miniſter, in high confidence with the QUEEN, under whoſe management the weight of affairs at preſent is in a great meaſure ſuppoſed to lie; ſitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen

dozen of the chief officers of the ſtate, is ſtabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a *french papiſt* *, then under examination for high-treaſon; the aſſaſſin redoubles his blow to make ſure work; and concluding the chancellor † was diſpatched, goes on with the ſame rage to murder a principal ſecretary of ſtate ‡: and that whole noble aſſembly are forced to riſe and draw their ſwords in their own defence, as if a wild beaſt had been let looſe among them.

This fact hath ſome circumſtances of aggravation, not to be parallelled by any of the like kind we meet with in hiſtory. *Cæſar's* murder being performed in the ſenate comes neareſt to the caſe; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers

* The abbot *de Bourlie*, who having quitted his native country, ſolicited to be employed againſt it in ſeveral courts of *Europe*, and aſſumed the title of marquis *de Guiſcard*. He at length obtained a commiſſion from queen *Anne*, and embarked in an expedition againſt *France*, which miſcarried, and his expectations being diſappointed by the new miniſtry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a ſpy, and commenced a treaſonable correſpondance: his letters were intercepted and produced to him by Mr. *Harley* at his examination.

† Mr. *Harley*, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterwards earl of *Oxford*.

‡ Mr. *Henry St. John*, afterwards lord *Bolingbroke*.

of

of the chief ſenators, who were likewiſe the actors in it; and not the work of a vile ſingle ruffian. *Harry* the third of *France* was ſtabbed by an enthuſiaſtick *frier*, whom he ſuffered to approach his perſon, while thoſe who attended him ſtood at ſome diſtance. His *ſucceſſor* met the ſame fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in ſuch a confinement were able to defend themſelves. In our own country we have, I think, but one inſtance of this ſort, which has made any noiſe; I mean that of *Felton* about fourſcore years ago; but he took the opportunity to ſtab the duke of *Buckingham* in paſſing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither ſeen nor heard, and the murderer might have eſcaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, had not betrayed him. Beſides, that act of *Felton* will admit of ſome extenuation from the motive he is ſaid to have had: but this attempt of *Guiſcard* ſeems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumſtance, except the difference of perſons between a king and a great miniſter; for I give no allowance at all

all to the difference of ſucceſs (which however, is yet uncertain and depending) not think it the leaſt alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the puniſhment.

I am ſenſible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few deſperate villains it is ſo unfortunate to produce; yet at the ſame time it muſt be avowed, that the *French* have for theſe laſt centuries been ſomewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the perſons of their greateſt men; ſuch as the admiral *de Coligny*, the dukes of *Guiſe* father and ſon, and the two kings I laſt mentioned. I have ſometimes wondered how a people, whoſe genius ſeems wholly turned to ſinging, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence; who lay ſo much weight upon modes and geſtures; whoſe eſſentialities are generally ſo very ſuperficial; who are uſually ſo ſerious upon trifles, and ſo trifling upon what is ſerious, have been capable of committing ſuch ſolid villainies, more ſuitable to the gravity of a *Spaniard*, or the ſilence and thoughtfulneſs of an *Italian*: unleſs it be, that in a nation naturally

turally ſo full of themſelves, and of ſo reſtleſs imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a moroſe and gloomy conſtitution, that huddle of confuſed thoughts for want of evaporating uſually terminates in rage or deſpair. *D'Avila* obſerves, that *Jacques Clement** was a ſort of buffoon, whom the reſt of the friers uſed to make ſport with; but at laſt giving his folly a ſerious turn, it ended in enthuſiaſm, and qualified him for that deſperate act of murdering his king.

But in the marquis *de Guiſcard* there ſeems to have been a complication of ingredients for ſuch an attempt. He had committed ſeveral enormities in *France*, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, ſuch as in vulgar phyſiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the reſt, his talents were very mean, having a ſort of inferior cunning, but very ſmall abilities; ſo that a great man of the late miniſtry, by whom he was invited over, and with much diſcretion raiſed at firſt ſtep, from a

* The monk who ſtabbed *Henry* III. of *France*.

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profligate *popiſh prieſt* to a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was at laſt forced to drop him for ſhame.

Had ſuch an accident happened under that miniſtry, and to ſo conſiderable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of thoſe, they are pleaſed to call the *faction*. This would have been ſtyled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accuſed, as promoters and abbettors of the fact; committees would have been ſent to promiſe the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confeſſion; and a *black liſt* would have been printed of all thoſe, who had been ever ſeen in the murderer's company. But the preſent men in power hate and deſpiſe all ſuch deteſtable arts, which they might now turn upon their adverſaries with much more plauſibility, than ever theſe did their honourable negotiations with *Greg* *.

* In the beginning of the year 1708, *William Greg* an under clerk to Mr. ſecretary *Harley*, was detected in a correſpondence with monſieur *Chamillard* one of the *french* king's miniſters, to whom he tranſmitted the proceedings of both houſes of parliament with reſpect to the augmentation of the *britiſh* forces, and other papers of great import-

And here it may be worth obſerving, how unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome perſons once in great power and a *french papiſt*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. *Harley's* life, though differing in their methods; the firſt proceeding by ſubornation, the other by violence; wherein *Guiſcard* ſeems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others deſigned to deſtroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both againſt this gentleman ſeems to have riſen from the ſame cauſe, his diſcovering deſigns againſt the government. It was Mr. *Harley*, who detected the

ance. *Greg*, when he was indicted of this treaſon, pleaded guilty, which gave occaſion to Mr. *Harley's* enemies to inſinuate, that he was privy to *Greg's* practices, and had by aſſurances of pardon prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witneſſes: the houſe of lords appointed a committee of ſeven, of whom lord *Sunderland* was manager, to enquire into the affair; the committee preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr. *Harley's* papers had been long expoſed to the meaneſt clerks in his office; and it was requeſted, that more caution might be uſed for the future. Upon this addreſs the execution of *Greg* was deferred a month; during which time he was ſolicited, threatened, and promiſed, but ſtill perſiſting to take the whole guilt upon himſelf, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, juſtified Mr. *Harley* in particular; which he would ſcarce have thought neceſſary, if no particular attempt had been made againſt him.

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treaſonable correſpondence of *Greg*, and ſecured him betimes; when a certain great man, who ſhall be nameleſs, had, out of the depth of his politicks, ſent him a caution to make his eſcape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. *Harley:* but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promiſe of a pardon, to write and ſign an accuſation againſt the ſecretary: but to uſe *Greg's* own expreſſion, *his death was nothing near ſo ignominious, as would have been ſuch a life, that muſt be ſaved by proſtituting his conſcience.* The ſame gentleman now lies ſtabbed by his other enemy, a *popiſh ſpy*, whoſe treaſon he hath diſcovered. God preſerve the reſt of her majeſty's miniſters from ſuch *proteſtants*, and from ſuch *papiſts!*

I ſhall take occaſion to hint at ſome particularities in this ſurpriſing fact, for the ſake of thoſe at a diſtance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confeſſed in *Newgate*, that his chief deſign was againſt Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, who happened to change ſeats with

Mr. *Harley* for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being aſked what provoked him to ſtab the chancellor, he ſaid, that not being able to come at the ſecretary as he intended, it was ſome ſatisfaction to murder the perſon, whom he thought Mr. *St. John* loved beſt *.

And here if Mr. *Harley* hath ſtill any enemies left, whom his blood ſpilt in the publick ſervice cannot reconcile, I hope they will at leaſt admire his magnanimity, which is a quality eſteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater inſtances of it to be found in ſtory. After the wound was given, he was obſerved neither to change his countenance, nor diſcover any concern or diſorder in his ſpeech. He roſe up and walked about the room while he was able, with the greateſt tranquillity, during the heighth of the confuſion. When the ſurgeon came, he took him aſide, and deſired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, becauſe in that caſe, he ſaid, he had ſome affairs to ſettle relating to his family.

* How much he was miſtaken appears by lord *Bolingbroke's* letter to ſir *William Wyndham*.

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The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow againſt a rib within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the ſurgeon was going to dreſs him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himſelf, gave it ſome body to keep, ſaying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him.* He ſhewed no ſort of reſentment, nor ſpoke one violent word againſt *Guiſcard*, but appeared all the while the leaſt concerned of any in the company. A ſtate of mind, which in ſuch an exigency nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a *chriſtian* philoſopher.

If there be really ſo great a difference in principle between the *high-flying whigs* and the friends of *France*, I cannot but repeat the queſtion, how came they to join in the deſtruction of the ſame man? Can his death be poſſibly for the intereſt of both? or have they both the ſame quarrel againſt him, that he is perpetually diſcovering and preventing the treacherous deſigns of our enemies? However it be, this great mininſter may now ſay with St.

*Paul*, that he hath been *in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by ſtrangers.*

In the midſt of ſo melancholy a ſubject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that ſuch a ſavage monſter as the marquis *de Guiſcard* is none of her production: a wretch perhaps more deteſtable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to repreſent him to the world. For there are good reaſons to believe from ſeveral circumſtances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than thoſe he happened to execute; I mean ſuch as every good ſubject muſt tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently ſeen going up the back-ſtairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her majeſty's bed-chamber. He hath often, and earneſtly preſſed for ſome time, to have acceſs to the queen, even ſince his correſpondence with *France*. And he has now given ſuch a proof of his diſpoſition, as leaves it eaſy to gueſs what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legiſlature will interpoſe on ſo extraordinary

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an occaſion as this, and direct a puniſhment* ſome way proportionable to ſo execrable a crime.

*Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,*
*Morte luat merita* ——

## NUMBER XXXIII.

Thurſday, March 22, 1710.

*De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil eſt dulcius, tibi aſſentior.*

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the moſt uſeful parts of their writings, and to have done greateſt ſervice to the chriſtian religion; becauſe they removed thoſe miſrepreſentations which had done it moſt injury. The methods theſe writers took, were openly and freely to diſcover every point of their faith, to detect the falſhood of their accuſers, and to charge nothing upon their adverſaries but what they were ſure to make good. This example hath

* An Act was immediately paſſed to make an attempt on the life of a privy counſellor in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy.

been ill followed of later times: the *papiſts* ſince the reformation uſing all arts to palliate the abſurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thouſand calumnies; the conſequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate ſeparation. It is the ſame thing in civil ſchiſms: a *whig* forms an image of a *tory* juſt after the thing he moſt abhors, and that image ſerveth to repreſent the whole body.

I am not ſenſible of any material difference there is between thoſe, who call themſelves the *old whigs*, and a great majority of the preſent *tories*, at leaſt by all I could ever find from examining ſeveral perſons of each denomination. But it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent body of *whigs*, as they now conſtitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox profeſſor either in religion or government, whoſe opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of leſſening their number; while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old ſentiments. However, they ſtill pretended

tended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largeſt ſteps towards the ruin of both: but not being able to wipe off the many accuſations laid to their charge, they endeavoured by throwing of ſcandal to make the *tories* appear blacker than themſelves; that ſo the people might join with *them*, as the ſmaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the *whigs* have flung upon their adverſaries, there is none hath done them more ſervice than that of *paſſive obedience*, as they repreſent it with the conſequences of *non-reſiſtance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeaſible right*, *tyranny*, *popery*, and what not. There is no accuſation, which hath paſſed with more plauſibility than this; nor any that is ſupported with leſs juſtice. In order therefore to undeceive thoſe, who have been miſled by falſe repreſentations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to ſet this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *whig* aſks, whether you hold *paſſive obedience*? You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, you are a

*jacobite*,

*jacobite*, a *friend* of *France* and the *pretender!* becauſe he makes you anſwerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you underſtand. I will therefore give two deſcriptions of *paſſive obedience*; the firſt as it is falſly charged by the *whigs*, the other as it is really profeſſed by the *tories*, at leaſt by nineteen in twenty of all I ever converſed with.

*Paſſive obedience, as charged by the* WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *paſſive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only anſwerable to him: that ſuch a king is above all law; that the cruelleſt tyrant muſt be ſubmitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever ſo unlawful, you muſt neither fly nor reſiſt, nor uſe any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he ſhould force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diverſion; you are ſtill to wiſh him a long, proſperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties with

with the ſame reſignation as under a plague or a famine; becauſe to reſiſt him would be to reſiſt God in the perſon of his vicegerent. If a king of *England* ſhould go through the ſtreets of *London* in order to murder every man he met, *paſſive obedience* commands them to ſubmit. All laws made to limit him ſignify nothing, although paſſed by his own conſent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a ſevere account; but the whole people united to a man cannot preſume to hold his hands, or offer him the leaſt *active diſobedience:* the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worſe than what I have deſcribed, although a fool or a mad man, hath a divine indefeaſible right to ſucceed him, which no law can diſannul; nay, although he ſhould kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately king to all intents and purpoſes; the poſſeſſion of the crown wiping off all ſtains. But whoſoever ſits on the throne without this title, though ever ſo peaceably and by conſent of former kings and parliaments, is an *uſurper*, while there is any where in the world another

other perſon, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal ſin, till that heir be reſtored, becauſe he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This and a great deal more hath in a thouſand papers and pamphlets been laid to that doctrine of *paſſive obedience*, which the *whigs* are pleaſed to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually inſtilling into the people as the undoubted principle, by which the preſent miniſtry and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuſe the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *paſſive obedience* is due to the ſupreme power, he is preſently loaded by our candid adverſaries with ſuch conſequences as theſe. Let us therefore ſee what this doctrine is, when ſtript of ſuch miſrepreſentations, by deſcribing it as really taught and practiſed by the *torics*; and then it will appear what grounds our adverſaries have to accuſe us upon this article.

*Paſſive*

## *Paſſive obedience, as profeſſed and practiſed by the* TORIES.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republick, there is placed a ſupreme, abſolute, unlimited power, to which *paſſive obedience* is due. That wherever is entruſted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleaſure whatever laws it thinks fit; and juſtly demand univerſal obedience and non-reſiſtance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the king or queen, together with the lords and commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatſoever made by that power are to be actively or paſſively obeyed. That the adminiſtration, or executive part, of this power is in *England* ſolely entruſted with the prince, who in adminiſtering thoſe laws ought to be no more reſiſted than the legiſlative power itſelf. But they do not conceive the ſame abſolute *paſſive obedience* to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath conſented to, and

and ſworn to maintain. The crown may be ſued, as well as a private perſon; and if an arbitrary king of *England* ſhould ſend his officers to ſeize my lands or goods againſt law, I can lawfully reſiſt them. The miniſters, by whom he acts, are liable to proſecution and impeachment, although his own perſon be ſacred. But if he interpoſe his royal authority to ſupport their inſolence, I ſee no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reaſon to apprehend it will be ſo; after which it becomes a caſe of neceſſity, and then I ſuppoſe a free people may aſſert their own rights, yet without any violation to the perſon or lawful power of the prince. But although the *tories* allow all this, and did juſtify it by the ſhare they had in the *revolution*; yet they ſee no reaſon for entering into ſo ungrateful a ſubject, or raiſing controverſies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehenſions of *tyranny* under the reign of ſo excellent a princeſs, and while we have ſo many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when according to thoſe who know our conſtitution beſt, things rather ſeem to lean

lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the ſucceſſion; the *tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the beſt in its own nature, and moſt agreeable to our old conſtitution; yet at the ſame time they allow it to be defeaſible by act of parliament; and ſo is *magna charta* too, if the legiſlature think fit: which is a truth ſo manifeſt, that no man, who underſtands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

Theſe I take to be the ſentiments of a great majority among the *tories* with reſpect to *paſſive obedience:* and if the *whigs* inſiſt from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men to form a judgment of the whole body according to the firſt account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their ſide, who are utterly againſt *paſſive obedience* even to the legiſlature; who will aſſert the laſt reſort of power to be in the people againſt thoſe, whom they have choſen and truſted as their repreſentatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable caſes to ſhew the reaſonable-

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neſs and neceſſity of reſiſting the legiſlative power in ſuch imaginary junctures. Than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any ſyſtem of government, either ſpeculative or practick, that was ever yet in the world from *Plato's Republick* to *Harrington's Oceana*, to put ſuch difficulties as cannot be anſwered.

All the other calumnies raiſed by the *whigs* may be as eaſily wiped off; and I have charity to wiſh they could as fully anſwer the juſt accuſations we have againſt them. *Dodwell*, *Hickes*, and *Leſley* are gravely quoted to prove, that the *tories* deſign to bring in the *pretender*; and if I ſhould quote them to prove that the ſame thing is intended by the *whigs*, it would be full as reaſonable; ſince I am ſure they have at leaſt as much to do with *nonjurors* as we. But our objections againſt the *whigs* are built upon their conſtant practice for many years, wherof I have produced an hundred inſtances, againſt any ſingle one of which no anſwer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that

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are written againſt the *Examiner*; ſuch a taſk as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my miſtakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meaneſt* adverſary. Upon which occaſion I ſhall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myſelf laſt *Thurſday* from the nature of my ſubject, and the inoffenſive manner I handled it, that I ſhould have one week's reſpite from thoſe mercileſs pens, whoſe ſeverity will ſome time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The firſt *lie* is a truth, that *Guiſcard* was invited over; but it is of no conſequence. I do not tax it as a fault; ſuch ſort of men have often been ſerviceable: I only blamed the indiſcretion of raiſing a profligate abbot, at the firſt ſtep, to a lieutenant-general and colonel of a regiment of horſe without ſtaying ſome reaſonable time, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, until he had given ſome proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that intereſt and credit he pretended to

have in his country. But that is ſaid to be another lie; for he was a *papiſt*, and could not have a regiment: however this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent monſieur *le Bas* for his uſe. The third is a *blunder*; that I ſay *Guiſcard's* deſign was againſt Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, and yet my reaſonings upon it are, as if it were perſonally againſt Mr. *Harley*. But I ſay no ſuch thing, and my reaſonings are juſt. I relate only what *Guiſcard* ſaid in *Newgate*, becauſe it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itſelf, after my reflections) but I never meant to be anſwerable for what *Guiſcard* ſaid, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw concluſions from thence, when I had the addreſs of both houſes to direct me better; where it is expreſsly ſaid, *that Mr.* Harley's *fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.* This is what I believe, and what I ſhall ſtick to.

But,

But, alas! theſe are not the paſſages which have raiſed ſo much fury againſt me. One or two miſtakes in facts of no importance, or a ſingle blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not ſo tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occaſioned by thoſe paſſages in that paper, which they do not in the leaſt pretend to anſwer, and with the utmoſt reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear *Guiſcard* from a deſign againſt Mr. *Harley's* life: but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who in the buſineſs of *Greg* were equally guilty of the *ſame deſign* againſt the *ſame perſon*; *whoſe tongues were very ſwords*, and whoſe *penknives* were *axes*.

## NUMBER XXXIV.

Thurſday, March 29, 1711.

*—— Sunt hic etiam ſua praemia laudi;*
*Sunt lachrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia*
*tangunt.*

I Begin to be heartily weary of my employment as *Examiner*; which I wiſh the miniſtry would conſider with half ſo much concern as I do, and aſſign me ſome other with leſs pains, and a penſion. There may ſoon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am *equally* qualified for each; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to ſour my temper. I did lately propoſe, that ſome of thoſe *ingenious* pens, which are engaged on the other ſide, might be employed to ſucceed me; and I undertook to bring them over for *t'other crown:* but it was anſwered, that thoſe gentlemen do much better ſervice in the ſtations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuſes yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had

I had often promiſed to do, but was too much diverted by other ſubjects that came into my head. On the other ſide, the advice of ſome friends and the threats of many enemies have put me upon conſidering, what would become of me, *if times ſhould alter:* this I have done very maturely, and the reſult is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have ſaid upon occaſion concerning the late men in power may be called ſatyr by ſome unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I muſt give them warning beforehand, that I ſhall expect to be a *favourite*, and that thoſe pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one ſingle action or deſign, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profeſs, be proud of, and ſcore up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I ſaid, they were inſolent to the QUEEN: will they not value themſelves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold aſſertors of the people's liberty? I

affirmed, they were againſt a peace: will they be angry with me for ſetting forth the refinements of their politicks, in purſuing the only method left to preſerve them in power? I ſaid, they had involved the nation in debts, and engroſſed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boaſt they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they deſtroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyrick than an affront? I ſaid, they had formerly a deſign againſt Mr. *Harley's* life*: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for juſtifying the ſincerity of their intentions? In ſhort, there is nothing I ever ſaid of thoſe worthy patriots, which may not be as well excuſed: therefore, as ſoon as they reſume their places, I poſitively deſign to put in my claim; and I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to

* See *The Examiner*, N° xxxii.

the

the preſent miniſtry. I know two or three great men, at whoſe levees you may daily obſerve a ſcore of the moſt forward faces, which every body is aſhamed of, except thoſe who wear them. But I conceive, my pretenſions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel caſe: ſuppoſe king *Charles* the firſt had entirely ſubdued the rebels at *Naſeby*, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reaſon from the former conduct of thoſe *ſaints*, that if the victory had fallen on their ſide, they would have murdered their prince, deſtroyed monarchy and the church, and made the king's party compound for their eſtates as delinquents, would have been called a falſe uncharitable libeller by thoſe very perſons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to ſucceed. I remember there was a perſon fined and impriſoned for *ſcandalum magnatum*, becauſe he ſaid the duke of *York* was a papiſt: but when that prince came to be king, and made open profeſſion of his religion, he had the juſtice immediately to releaſe his priſoner, who in

his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore colonel *Titus*, who had warmly aſſerted the ſame thing in parliament, was made a privy counſellor.

By this rule, if that, which for ſome politick reaſons is now called ſcandal upon the late miniſtry, proves one day to be only an abſtract of ſuch a character as they will aſſume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretenſions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have obſerved in thoſe papers that come out weekly againſt the *Examiner*. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my maſters; that I *blunder* and betray the cauſe; and write with more bitterneſs againſt thoſe who hire me, than againſt the whigs. Now I took all this at firſt only for ſo many ſtrains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader; but upon further thinking I find they are ſerious. I imagined I had complimented the preſent miniſtry for their dutiful behaviour to the QUEEN, for their love of the old conſtitution in church and ſtate, for their gene-

generoſity and juſtice, and for their deſire of a ſpeedy honourable peace: but it ſeems I am miſtaken, and they reckon all this for ſatyr, becauſe it is directly contrary to the practice of all thoſe whom they ſet up to defend, and utterly againſt all their notions of a good miniſtry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reaſon on their ſide: for, ſuppoſe I ſhould write the character, of an honeſt, a religious, and a learned man; and ſend the firſt to *Newgate*, the ſecond to the *Grecian coffee-houſe*, and the laſt to *White's*; would they not all paſs for ſatyrs, and juſtly enough, among the companies to whom they were ſent?

Having therefore employed ſeveral papers in ſuch ſort of *panegyricks*, and but very few on what they underſtand to be *ſatyrs*, I ſhall henceforth upon occaſion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taſte in the remainder of this preſent paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of miniſtry, the greateſt muſt be allowed to be the calling of the preſent parliament upon

upon the diſſolution of the laſt. It is acknowledged, that this excellent aſſembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily proſtituted for ſome years paſt by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority in concert with a moſt corrupt adminiſtration. It is plain by the preſent choice of members, that the electors of *England*, when left to themſelves, do rightly underſtand their true intereſt. The moderate *whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they ſhould be. And as the preſent houſe of commons is the beſt repreſentative of the nation, that hath ever been ſummoned in our memories, ſo they have taken care in their firſt ſeſſion by that noble bill of *qualification* *, that future parliaments ſhould be compoſed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of thoſe who have none themſelves, or at leaſt only what is tranſient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in poſterity, the memory of this

* The qualification required by this act is ſome eſtate in land, either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion. See N° xliv.

aſſembly

aſſembly will be always celebrated; if otherwiſe, at leaſt we, who ſhare in the bleſſings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I deſign in ſome following papers to draw up a liſt (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed; the many abuſes they have detected; their juſtice in deciding elections without regard to party; their chearfulneſs and addreſs in raiſing ſupplies for the war, and at the ſame time providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the QUEEN, and their kindneſs to the church. In the mean time I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which in my opinion do diſcover in ſome meaſure the temper of the preſent parliament, and bear analogy to thoſe paſſages related by *Plutarch* in the lives of certain great men; which as himſelf obſerveth, *although they be not of actions which make any great noiſe or figure in hiſtory, yet give more light into the characters of perſons, than we could receive from an account of their moſt renowned atchievements.*

Some-

Something like this may be obſerved from two late inſtances of *decency* and *good nature* in that illuſtrious aſſembly I am ſpeaking of. The firſt was, when after that inhuman attempt upon Mr. *Harley* they were pleaſed to vote an addreſs to the QUEEN, wherein they expreſs their utmoſt deteſtation of the fact, their high eſteem and great concern for that able miniſter, and juſtly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her majeſty's ſervice, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.* I dare affirm, that ſo diſtinguſhing a mark of honour and good will from ſuch a parliament was more acceptable to a perſon of Mr. *Harley's* generous nature, than the moſt *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a ſubject; as her majeſty's anſwer, filled with gracious expreſſions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* ſhe could beſtow. The prince and repreſentatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for ſo important a life: theſe are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble ſpirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to beſtow, and the

*receiver*

*receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other inſtance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the preſent houſe of commons, relates to their moſt worthy ſpeaker *; who having unfortunately loſt his eldeſt ſon, the aſſembly moved with a generous pity for ſo ſenſible an affliction adjourned themſelves for a week, that ſo good a ſervant of the publick might have ſome interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too juſt an occaſion for his grief by the death of a ſon, who had already acquired ſo great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be ſo great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I muſt deſire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruſe any paper written againſt the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in ſuch papers, but be ſo juſt to read the paragraph referred

* *William Bromley*, eſq.

to;

to; which I am confident will be found a ſufficient anſwer to all that ever thoſe papers can object: at leaſt I have ſeen above fifty of them, and never yet obſerved one ſingle quotation tranſcribed with common candor.

## NUMBER XXXV.

Thurſday, April 5, 1711.

*Nullo ſuo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonſtrare poſſint.*

I Have been conſidering the old conſtitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republicks whereof we meet ſo many accounts in ancient ſtory, and with thoſe at preſent in moſt parts of *Europe*. I have conſidered our religion, eſtabliſhed here by the legiſlature ſoon after the reformation. I have likewiſe examined the genius and diſpoſition of the people under that reaſonable freedom they poſſeſs. Then I have turned my reflections upon thoſe two great diviſions of *whig* and *tory* (which ſome way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they

they both profeſs, as well as thoſe where-with they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which ſide her preſent majeſty may reaſonably hope for moſt ſecurity to her perſon and government; and to which ſhe ought in prudence to truſt the adminiſtration of her affairs. If theſe two rivals were really no more than *parties* according to the common acceptation of the word, I ſhould agree with thoſe politicians, who think a prince deſcends from his dignity by putting himſelf at the head of either; and that his wiſeſt courſe is to keep them in a balance, raiſing or depreſſing either as it beſt ſuits with his deſigns. But when the viſible intereſt of his crown and kingdom lies on one ſide; and when the other is but a *faction*, raiſed and ſtrengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with falſe repreſentations of things; he ought in prudence to take the firſt opportunity of opening his ſubjects eyes, and declaring himſelf in favour of thoſe who are for preſerving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are ſo interwoven.

This

This was certainly our caſe: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *whigs* to make up ſtrictly ſpeaking a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconſiſtent parts, whom nothing ſerved to unite, but the common intereſt of ſharing in the ſpoil and plunder of the people; their preſent dread of their adverſaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conſpiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and ſtate, which however if they could have compaſſed, they would certainly have fallen out among themſelves, and broke in pieces, as *their predeceſſors* did after they deſtroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *whig*, who is againſt all diſcipline, agree with a *preſbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *papiſts* themſelves? How could a *ſocinian* adjuſt his models to either? or how could any of theſe cement with a *deiſt*, or *free-thinker*, when they came to conſult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their ſyſtems of government; where ſome would have been for a king under the limitations of

of a duke of *Venice*; others for a *dutch* republick; a third party for an *ariſtocracy*; and moſt of all for ſome new fabrick of their own contriving.

But however, let us conſider them as a *party*, and under thoſe general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publickly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* thoſe principles of the *tories*, which their adverſaries allow them to profeſs, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to thoſe profeſſions: after which let the reader judge, from which of theſe two parties a prince hath moſt to fear; and whether her majeſty did not conſider the eaſe, the ſafety, and dignity of her perſon, the ſecurity of her crown, and the tranſmiſſion of monarchy to her proteſtant ſucceſſors, when ſhe put her affairs into the preſent hands.

Suppoſe the matter were not entire; the QUEEN to make her choice; and for that end, ſhould order the principles on both ſides to be fairly laid before her. Firſt I conceive, the *whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great venera-

tion for *crowned heads*; that they allow the perſon of the prince may upon many occaſions be reſiſted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raiſed againſt king *Charles* the firſt, or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet ſufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illuſtrious houſe of *Hanover*) to clip it ſtill cloſer againſt the next reign; which conſequently they would be glad to ſee done in the preſent: not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their univerſal undiſputed maxim is, that it ought to make no diſtinction at all among *proteſtants*; and in the word *proteſtant* they include every body who is not a *papiſt*, and who will by an oath give ſecurity to the government. Union in diſcipline and doctrine, the offenſive ſin of ſchiſm, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *prieſtcraft*. They ſee no neceſſity at all that

that there ſhould be a national faith; and what we uſually call by that name, they only ſtyle the *religion of the magiſtrate**. Since the diſſenters and we agree in the main, why ſhould the difference of a few ſpeculative points or modes of dreſs incapacitate them from ſerving their prince and country in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up againſt the common enemy? and why ſhould they be forced to take the ſacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our poſture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

Theſe are the notions which moſt of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to diſguiſe or ſet off with falſe colours, or complain of being miſrepreſented about. I have here placed them on purpoſe in the ſame light, which themſelves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuſe them of; and how inviting even theſe doctrines are for ſuch a monarch to cloſe with, as our law both

* See *Letter on the teſt*, vol. ix.

ſtatute and common underſtands a king of *England* to be, let others decide. But then, if to theſe we ſhould add other opinions, which moſt of their own writers juſtify, and which their univerſal practice hath given a ſanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reaſonably expect, as the natural conſequence of thoſe avowed principles. For when ſuch perſons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that reſpect they ought to bear; and at the ſame time, their own want of duty to their ſovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater ſubmiſſions to themſelves from their fellow ſubjects: it being indiſputably true, that the ſame principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with inſolence, in the ſame proportion as he affronts his ſuperiors; as both prince and people have ſufficiently felt from the late miniſtry.

Then, from their confeſſed notions of religion as above related, I ſee no reaſon to wonder, why they countenanced not only all ſorts of diſſenters, but the ſeveral *gradations* of *free-thinkers* among us (all which

which are openly enrolled in their party;) nor why they were ſo very averſe from the preſent eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, which by preſcribing obedience to princes from the topick of conſcience would be ſure to thwart all their ſchemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the conſtitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occaſions the *monied* intereſt before the *landed*; which they were ſo far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of repreſentatives fitly qualified to lay thoſe heavy burdens on the reſt of the nation, which themſelves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are ſome motives, which might compel a prince under the neceſſity of affairs to deliver himſelf over to that party. They were *ſaid* to poſſeſs the great bulk of caſh, and conſequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of pre-

ſiding over thoſe ſocieties, who have the great direction of both: ſo that all applications for loans to the publick ſervice upon any emergency muſt be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to diſoblige them, becauſe in that caſe it was not to be doubted, that they would be obſtinate and malicious, ready to obſtruct all affairs, not only by ſhutting their own purſes, but by endeavouring to ſink *credit*, although with ſome preſent imaginary loſs to themſelves, only to ſhew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this ſummary of *whig principles* and diſpoſitions we find, what a prince may reaſonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly conſider the doctrines of the *tories*, which their adverſaries will not diſpute. As they prefer a well regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, ſo they think it next to impoſſible to alter that inſtitution here, without involving our whole iſland in blood and deſolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a ſovereign ought at leaſt to be held as ſacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reaſon, becauſe without

without a due ſhare of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both ſtatute and common, neither the perſon nor lawful authority of the prince ought upon any pretence whatſoever to be reſiſted or diſobeyed. Their ſentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being juſt the reverſe to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *whigs* upon that article.

But here I muſt likewiſe deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteriſtick of the *tories*, which hath much diſcouraged ſome princes from making uſe of them in affairs. Give the *whigs* but power enough to inſult their ſovereign, engroſs his favours to themſelves, and to oppreſs and plunder their fellow-ſubjects; they preſently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profeſs they will ſtand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudeneſſes they may be guilty of in private, yet they aſſure the world that there never was ſo gracious a monarch. But to the ſhame of

the *tories* it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing of all this hath been ever obſerved in them; in or out of favour, you ſee no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulneſs or cloud in their countenances: the higheſt employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expreſſions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the ſame.

Having thus impartially ſtated the avowed principle of *whig* and *tory*; let the reader determine as he pleaſeth, to which of theſe two a wiſe prince may, with moſt ſafety to himſelf and the publick, truſt his perſon and his affairs; and whether it were raſhneſs or prudence in her majeſty to make thoſe changes in the miniſtry, which have been ſo highly extolled by ſome, and condemned by others.

## NUMBER XXXVI.

Thurſday, April 12, 1711.

*Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,*
*Una dies dedit exitio* ——

I Write this paper for the ſake of the *diſſenters*, whom I take to be the moſt ſpreading branch of the *whig party*, that *profeſſeth chriſtianity*; and the only one that ſeems to be zealous for any particular ſyſtem of it; the bulk of thoſe we call the *low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other ſubdiviſions having not yet taken either the Old or New Teſtament into their ſcheme. By the *diſſenters* therefore it will eaſily be underſtood that I mean the *preſbyterians*, as they include the ſects of *anabaptiſts*, *independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them ſince the *reſtoration*. This ſect, in order to make itſelf national, having gone ſo far as to raiſe a rebellion, murder their king, deſtroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own diviſions;

viſions; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However the zealous among them did ſtill entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable paſſage in a book publiſhed about the year 1661, and written by one of their own ſide. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend aſked him, *whether he thought the* cauſe *would revive?* He anſwered, *the* cauſe *is in the boſom of* Chriſt; *and as ſure as* Chriſt *roſe from the dead, ſo ſure will the* cauſe *revive alſo.* And therefore the *nonconformiſts* were ſtrictly watched, and reſtrained by penal laws, during the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond; the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any deſign againſt the government in church or ſtate. And ſurely this was reaſonable enough, while ſo many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached againſt both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *nonconformiſts* were then exactly upon the ſame foot with our *nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking

thinking ourſelves poſſeſſed with a perſecuting ſpirit; becauſe we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, ſhould altogether ſilence the *diſſenters* complaints of perſecution under king *Charles* the ſecond; or make them ſhew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were ſoon diſcovered, when king *James* the ſecond ſucceeded to the crown, with whom they unanimouſly joined in its ruin to revenge themſelves for that reſtraint, they had moſt juſtly ſuffered in the foregoing reign, not from the perſecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would ſuggeſt, but the prudence and caution of the legiſlature. The ſame indulgence againſt law was made uſe of by them and the *papiſts*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common intereſt.

But the revolution happening ſoon after ſerved to waſh away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run againſt *popery* was no doubt as juſt and ſeaſonable, as that of *fanaticiſm* after the reſtoration; and

and the dread of *popery* being then our lateſt danger, and conſequently the moſt freſh upon our ſpirits, all mouths were open againſt that; the *diſſenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durſt call it a *rebellion* was a *jacobite* and *friend* to *France*. This was the more unexpected, becauſe the revolution being wholly brought about by church of *England* hands, they hoped one good conſequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of *diſſenters*, as well as thoſe of *papiſts*; ſince both had equally confederated towards our ruin: and therefore, when the crown was new ſettled, it was hoped at leaſt, that the reſt of the conſtitution would be reſtored. But this affair took a very different turn: the *diſſenters* had juſt made a ſhift to ſave a tide, and join with the prince of *Orange*, when they found all was deſperate with their *protector* king *James*; and obſerving a party then forming againſt the old principles in church and ſtate, under the name of *whigs* and *low-churchmen*, they lifted themſelves

themſelves of it, where they have ever ſince continued.

It is therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myſelf to them, and deſire they would conſider the different circumſtances at preſent, from what they were under, when they began their deſigns againſt the church and monarchy about ſeventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whoſoever joined with them from principles of revenge, diſcontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to ſhelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in theſe nations*; received the ſyſtems of doctrine and diſcipline preſcribed by the *Scots*, and readily took the *covenant*; ſo that there appeared no diviſion among them, till after the common enemy was ſubdued.

But now their caſe is quite otherwiſe; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For ſuppoſe the whole

whole *faction* ſhould at length ſucceed in their deſign of deſtroying the church; are they ſo weak to imagine, that the new modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *low-churchmen* and *free-thinkers*, ſubmit to their *diſcipline*, their *ſynods*, or their *claſſes*; and divide the lands of biſhops, or deans and chapters, among them? How can they help obſerving, that their allies, inſtead of pretending more ſanctity than other men, are ſome of them for levelling all religion; and the reſt for aboliſhing it? Is it not manifeſt, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the ſame manner as they were by king *James* the ſecond; made inſtruments to ruin the church; not for their own ſakes, but under a pretended project of univerſal freedom in opinion to advance the dark deſigns of thoſe who employ them? For, excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few falſe notions about *liberty*, I ſee but little agreement betwixt them; and even in theſe, I believe, it would be impoſſible to contrive a frame of government that would pleaſe them all, if they had it now in their power

power to try. But however, to be ſure, the *preſbyterian* inſtitution would never obtain. For ſuppoſe they ſhould, in imitation of their predeceſſors, propoſe to have no king but our Saviour CHRIST; the whole clan of *free-thinkers* would immediately object and refuſe his authority. Neither would their *low-church* brethren uſe them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are ſuffered to preſide. So that upon the whole I do not ſee, as their preſent circumſtances ſtand, where the *diſſenters* can find better quarter than from the church of *England*.

Beſides, I leave it to their conſideration, whether, with all their zeal againſt the church, they ought not to ſhew a little decency; and how far it conſiſts with their reputation to act in concert with ſuch confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the preſent *moſt chriſtian king* to aſſiſt the *Turk* againſt the *emperor*: policy and reaſons of ſtate were not allowed ſufficient excuſes for taking part with an *infidel* againſt a *believer*. It is one of the *diſſenters* quarrels againſt the church, that

that ſhe is not enough reformed from *popery*; yet they boldly entered into a league with *papiſts* and a *popiſh prince* to deſtroy her. They profeſs much ſanctity, and object againſt the wicked lives of ſome of our members; yet they have been long, and ſtill continue, in ſtrict combination with *libertines* and *atheiſts* to contrive our ruin. What if the *Jews* ſhould multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *diſſenters* join in alliance with them likewiſe, becauſe they agree already in ſome general principles, and becauſe the *Jews* are allowed to be a *ſtiff-necked and rebellious people?*

It is the part of wiſe men to conceal their paſſions, when they are not in circumſtances of exerting them to purpoſe: The arts of getting power, and preſerving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reaſonable hopes of the *diſſenters* ſeem to be at an end; their comrades, the *whigs* and *free-thinkers*, are juſt in a condition proper to be forſaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Beſides, it ſometimes happens for a cauſe to be exhauſted

exhauſted and worn out, as that of the *whigs* in general ſeems at preſent to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope reſtoring that decayed intereſt, as for a man of ſixty to talk of entering on a new ſcene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumſtances and new men muſt ariſe, as well as new occaſions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the *diſſenters* have no game leſt at preſent, but to ſecure their *indulgence:* in order to which, I will be ſo bold to offer them ſome advice.

*Firſt*, That until ſome late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, ſo great a majority as there is now againſt them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but diſperſe themſelves, and lie dormant againſt ſome better opportunity. I have ſhewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly loſe none by its fall, unleſs through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the QUEEN; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined intereſt

of thoſe, who have uſed her ſo ill; and by a due reſpect to the perſons ſhe is pleaſed to truſt at preſent with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when ſtruggling can do them no good, and may poſſibly hurt them; what is left, but to be ſilent and paſſive?

*Secondly*, Although there be no law (beſides that of God almighty) againſt *occaſional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *diſſenters* to uſe it as tenderly as they can: for beſides the infamous hypocriſy of the thing itſelf, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy neceſſary. And after all they have ſaid to juſtify themſelves in this point, it ſtill continues hard to conceive, how thoſe conſciences can pretend to be ſcrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the laſt place, I am humbly of opinion, that the *diſſenters* would do well to drop that *leſſon* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehenſions, that the *tories* are in the intereſt of the *pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of

of inviting him over. It is with the worſt grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if thoſe, who *alone* ſtood in the gap againſt all the encroachments of *popery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both than a ſett of *ſchiſmaticks*, who to gratify their ambition and revenge did, by the meaneſt compliances, encourage and ſpirit up that unfortunate prince to fall upon ſuch meaſures, as muſt at laſt have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

*P. S.* I wiſh thoſe, who give themſelves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would conſider whether what they ſend be proper for ſuch a paper to take notice of. I had one letter laſt week, written as I ſuppoſe by a divine, to deſire I would offer ſome reaſons againſt a bill now before the parliament for *aſcertaining the tythe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, eſpecially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he ſays (and he ſeems to argue very reaſonably upon it) the

*convocation* now ſitting will no doubt upon due application repreſent the matter to the houſe of commons; and he may expect all juſtice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared ſo tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewiſe, who hath ſent me ſeveral letters relating to perſonal hardſhips he received from ſome of the late miniſtry, is adviſed to publiſh a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

## NUMBER XXXVII.

Thurſday, April 19, 1711.

*Semper cauſae eventorum magis movent quam ipſa eventa.*

I AM glad to obſerve that ſeveral among the *whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The ſtyle is now among the reaſonable part of them, when they meet a man in buſineſs, or a member of parliament; *well gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we ſhall no longer have any pretence to complain.* They

They find it ſeems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *pretender*, nor any preparatory ſteps towards it. They read no enſlaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the ſubject. The indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preſerved, and not the leaſt whiſper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to ſupport the war; ſupplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily ſubſcribed to, in ſpight of the little arts made uſe of to diſcredit them. The juſt reſentments of ſome, which are laudable in themſelves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been ſoftened or diverted by the calmneſs of others. So that upon the article of preſent management I do not ſee how any objection of weight can well be raiſed.

However our adverſaries ſtill alledge, that this great ſucceſs was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: that in publick affairs we ought leaſt of all others to judge by events: that the attempt of changing a miniſtry during the difficulties of a long war was raſh and

ſible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; becauſe from the monſtrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be ſo. And it will be found upon enquiring into hiſtory, that moſt of thoſe princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to ſtruggle, until they were quite ſunk.

The *whigs* are every day curſing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and inſatiable covetouſneſs of a *certain perſon*, as the cauſe of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one ſingle removal* might have ſet all things right. But the intereſts of that *ſingle perſon* were found upon experience ſo complicated and woven with the reſt by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than diſſolve ſuch an union.

I have always heard and underſtood, that a king of *England* poſſeſſed of his peoples hearts, at the head of a free parliament,

liament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that ſuch a monarch ought to do; and purſued the real intereſt of himſelf and his kingdom. Will they allow her majeſty to be in thoſe circumſtances at preſent? And was it not plain by the addreſſes ſent from all parts of the iſland, and by the viſible diſpoſition of the people, that ſuch a parliament would undoubtedly be choſen? And ſo it proved, without the court's uſing any arts to influence elections.

What people then are theſe in a corner, to whom the conſtitution muſt truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot ſupply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legiſlature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we ſhould ſue for a peace. What new maxims are theſe, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wiſe inſtitution would ever allow? Muſt our laws from henceforward paſs the *Bank* and *Eaſt India* company, or have their *royal aſſent* before they are in force?

To

To hear ſome of theſe worthy reaſoners talking of *credit*, that ſhe is ſo nice, ſo ſqueamiſh, ſo capricious, you would think they were deſcribing a lady troubled with vapours or the cholick to be removed only by a *courſe of ſteel*, or *ſwallowing a bullet*. By the narrowneſs of their thoughts one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than *Exchange alley*. It is probable *they* may have ſuch a ſickly dame among them; and it is well if ſhe hath no worſe diſeaſes, conſidering what hands ſhe paſſes through. But the *national credit* is of another complexion; of ſound health, and an even temper; her life and exiſtence being a quinteſſence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find theſe *money politicians*, after all their noiſe, to be of the ſame opinion by the court they paid her, when ſhe lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politicks they charge upon the QUEEN, for changing her miniſtry in the heighth of a war, I ſuppoſe it is only looked upon as an error under a *whiggiſh adminiſtration*; otherwiſe the late king had much to anſwer for, who did it pretty

pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late miniſtry of *famous memory* was brought in during the preſent war; only with this circumſtance, that two or three of the chief did firſt change their own principles, and then took in ſuitable companions.

But however, I ſee no reaſon why the *tories* ſhould not value their wiſdom by events, as well as the *whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, raſh counſel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was ſufficiently juſtified by the ſucceſs. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the attempt was neceſſary, becauſe the whole ſpecies of money was ſo grievouſly clipped and counterfeit: and is not her majeſty's authority as ſacred as her coin? And hath not that been moſt ſcandalouſly clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the *whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party are treated with abundance of ſeverity in print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they

[illegible] of power, hated [illegible] of all hope of re- [illegible] in order to [illegible] mankind. [illegible] writers to [illegible] of the week; and [illegible] one [illegible] the *Examiner* [illegible] mi- [illegible] with the [illegible] against those who [illegible] power and cre- [illegible] and whose least [illegible] and [illegible] I have in- [illegible] much li- [illegible] and [illegible] in any [illegible]; yet I never [illegible] the assistance of the *gaol* or [illegible] upon the least provocation [illegible] during their tyranny. There hath not passed a week these twenty years without some malicious paper scat- tered in every coffee-house by the emis- saries of that party, whether it were *down*

or

or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the ſame thing to us: nor do I remember any conſtant weekly paper with reflections on the late miniſtry or *junto*. They have many weak defenceleſs parts; they have not been uſed to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are ſo ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies, and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear obſerving upon this occaſion, that thoſe worthy authors I am ſpeaking of, ſeem to me not fairly to repreſent the ſentiments of their party; who in diſputing with us do generally give up ſeveral of the late miniſtry, and freely own many of their failings. They confeſs the monſtrous *debt upon the navy* to have been cauſed by moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement; they allow the *inſolence* of *ſome*, and the *avarice* of *others*, to have been inſupportable: but theſe gentlemen are moſt liberal of their praiſes to thoſe perſons, and upon thoſe very articles, where their wiſeſt friends give up the point. They gravely

gravely tell us, that *ſuch a one* was the moſt faithful ſervant that ever any prince had; *another* the moſt dutiful; a *third*, the moſt generous; a *fourth*, of the greateſt integrity: ſo that I look upon theſe champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party*; which I deſire the reaſonable men among them would pleaſe to conſider.

## NUMBER XXXVIII.

Thurſday, April 26, 1711.

*Indignum eſt in ea civitate, quae legibus continetur, diſcedi a legibus.*

I Have been often conſidering how it comes to paſs, that the dexterity of mankind in evil ſhould always out-grow not only the prudence and caution of private perſons, but the continual expedience of the wiſeſt laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to poſſeſs a greater ſhare of natural wit or genius, than an honeſt man. I have known very notable ſharpers at play, who upon all occaſions, were as great dunces as human ſhape can well allow; and I believe, the ſame might be obſerved

obſerved among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about this town. The propoſition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred inſtances. A ſcrivener, an attorney, a ſtock-jobber, and many other *retailers of fraud* ſhall not only be able to over-reach others much wiſer than themſelves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made againſt them. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that as the aggreſſor is ſaid to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, ſo the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have uſually not ſo much induſtry or vigour as thoſe, whoſe intereſt leads them to attack it. Beſides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the publick for their juſtice and virtue; neither do thoſe, who act upon ſuch principles, expect any recompence until the next world: whereas fraud, where it ſucceeds, gives preſent pay; and this is allowed the greateſt ſpur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to ſtop ſome growing evil, the wits of thoſe, whoſe intereſt it is to break it with ſecrecy or impunity, are immediately at

at work; and even among thoſe who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They deſire to reap the advantage if poſſible without the ſhame, or at leaſt without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, ſprung up ſoon after the revolution, to have ſtudied with great application ever ſince; and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of ſome *romiſh* caſuiſts, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum ſine peccato poſſint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will juſt forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be ſufficient to ſet you right, and put ſomething in your pocket beſides: how much to a penny, you may ſafely cheat the QUEEN, whether forty, fifty, or ſixty *per cent.* according to the ſtation you are in, and the diſpoſitions of the perſons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may ſecurely take or give for a place, or what

what part of the ſalary you ought to reſerve: they can diſcreetly diſtribute five hundred pounds in a ſmall borough without any danger from the ſtatutes againſt bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; ſo that you ſhall not know whom to accuſe: they can win a thouſand guineas at play in ſpight of the dice, and ſend away the loſer ſatisfied. They can paſs the moſt exorbitant accounts, over-pay the creditor with half his demands, and ſink the reſt.

It would be endleſs to relate, or rather indeed impoſſible to diſcover the ſeveral arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themſelves by defrauding the publick in defiance of the law. The military men both by ſea and land have equally cultivated this moſt uſeful ſcience: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other ſex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an inſtance, that would make ours bluſh to be ſo far out-done.

Beſides, to confeſs the truth, our laws themſelves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of

our best poſſeſſion, liberty. Some years ago the ambaſſador of a great prince was arreſted, and outrages committed on his perſon in our ſtreets, without any poſſibility of redreſs from *Weſtminſter-hall*, or the prerogative of the ſovereign; and the legiſlature was forced to provide a remedy againſt the like evils in time to come. A counterfeiter of the ſtamped paper was lately diſcovered to have notoriouſly cheated the publick of great ſums for many years by counterfeiting the ſtamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cauſe that ſaved his life; and that additional heightening circumſtance of betraying his truſt was found to be a legal defence. I am aſſured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at *Parliament*, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot by any law now in force be puniſhed in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, had *Guiſcard** ſurvived his deteſtable attempt upon Mr. *Harley's* perſon, all the

* He died of the wounds he received.

inflaming

inflaming circumſtances of the fact would not have ſufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have puniſhed him with death; and the publick muſt have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex poſt facto*, (which would have been of dangerous conſequence, and from an ignominious precedent) or undergo the mortification to ſee the greateſt villain upon earth eſcape unpuniſhed, to the infinite triumph and delight of *popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we conſider, that of all the inſolences offered to the QUEEN ſince the act of indemnity (at leaſt that ever came to my ears) I can hardly inſtance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high-treaſon.

From theſe defects in our laws, and the want of ſome diſcretionary power, ſafely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of thoſe laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the publick are ſo ſeldom redreſſed. But beſides, no individual ſuffers by any wrong he doth to the common-

wealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are ſeven or eight millions, who contribute to the loſs, while the whole gain is ſunk among a few. The damage ſuffered by the publick is not ſo immediately or heavily felt by particular perſons; and the zeal of proſecutions is apt to drop and be loſt among numbers.

But imagine a ſett of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game viſibly their own, and by conſequence, acting with great ſecurity; may not theſe be ſometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by exceſs of avarice and ambition, by the inſolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adverſaries? May not ſuch motives as theſe put them often upon actions directly againſt the law, ſuch as no evaſions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing intereſt, whenever they are out of power? It is anſwered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuſe the late miniſtry their due praiſes; who foreſeeing a ſtorm provided for their own ſafety by two admirable expedients, by which

which with great prudence they have eſcaped the puniſhments due to pernicious counſels and corrupt management. The firſt was to procure under pretences hardly ſpecious a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The ſecond was yet more refined: ſuppoſe, for inſtance, a counſel is to be purſued, which is neceſſary to carry on the dangerous deſigns of a prevailing party, to preſerve them in power, to gratify the unmeaſurable appetites of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counſel deſperate in itſelf, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an addreſs, which makes it look like the ſenſe of the nation. Under that ſhelter they carry on the work, and lie ſecure againſt after-reckonings.

I muſt be ſo free to tell my meaning in this; that among other things, I underſtand it of the addreſs made to the QUEEN about three years ago, to deſire that her majeſty would not conſent to a peace, without the entire reſtitution of *Spain*. A proceeding which to people abroad muſt look like the higheſt ſtrain of temerity, folly, and gaſ-

conade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can eaſily comprehend the depth and myſtery of it. They were aſſured by this means to pin down the war upon us; conſequently to encreaſe their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the QUEEN and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be ſhaken, whenever they ſhould find themſelves diſpoſed to reverſe their addreſs, and give us leave to wiſh for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monſtrous ſtep in politicks, I would aſk him, what we muſt do in caſe we find it impoſſible to recover *Spain?* Thoſe among the *whigs*, who believe a God, will confeſs that the events of war lie in his hands; and the reſt of them, who acknowledge no ſuch power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a ſhare in the good or ill ſucceſs of military actions to let a wiſe man reaſon upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If providence ſhall think fit to refuſe ſucceſs to our arms; with how ill a grace, with what ſhame and confuſion ſhall we be obliged to recant that

that precipitate addreſs, unleſs the world will be ſo charitable to conſider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumſtances it is very poſſible for our iſland to be repreſented ſometimes by thoſe, who have the leaſt pretenſions. So little truth or juſtice there is in what ſome pretend to advance, that the actions of former ſenates ought always to be treated with reſpect by the latter; that thoſe aſſemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another: by which argument the parliament that began the rebellion againſt king *Charles* I, voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with reſpect.

But to return from this digreſſion; it is very plain, that conſidering the defectiveneſs of our laws, the variety of caſes, the weakneſs of the prerogative, the power or the cunning of ill-deſigning men, it is poſſible that many great abuſes may be viſibly committed, which cannot be legally puniſhed; eſpecially if we add to this, that ſome enquiries might probably involve

thoſe, whom upon other accounts it is not thought convenient to diſturb. Therefore it is very falſe reaſoning, eſpecially in the management of publick affairs, to argue that men are innocent, becauſe the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to ſupply ſuch defects as theſe, that ſatyr was firſt introduced into the world; whereby thoſe, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of puniſhment were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the ſhame of having their crimes expoſed to open view in the ſtrongeſt colours, and themſelves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by ſuch hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but next to taming or binding a ſavage animal, the beſt ſervice you can do the neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themſelves or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any ſigns of remorſe from the leaders of that faction, I ſhould very gladly have changed my ſtyle, and forgot, or paſſed by their mil-

lion

lion of enormities. But they are every day more fond of diſcovering their impotent zeal and malice: witneſs their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beſides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things deſperate, that themſelves may be thought neceſſary. While they continue in this frantick mood I ſhall not forbear to treat them as they deſerve; that is to ſay, as the inveterate, irreconcileable enemies to our country and its conſtitution.

## NUMBER XXXIX.

Thurſday, May 3, 1711.

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?*

THERE have been certain topics of reproach liberally beſtowed for ſome years paſt, by the *whigs* and *tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a deſign of deſtroying the *eſtabliſhed church*, and introducing *fanaticiſm* and *free-thinking* in its ſtead. We accuſe them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to

undermine the preſent form of govern-ment, and to build a commonwealth, or ſome new ſcheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other ſide, their clamours againſt us may be ſummed up in thoſe three formidable words *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. Our accuſations againſt them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; ſuch as their perpetually abuſing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of prieſthood, their averſion againſt epiſcopacy, the publick encouragement and patronage they gave to *Tindal*, *Toland*, and other atheiſtical writers; their appearing as profeſſed advocates retained by the diſſenters, excuſing their ſeparation, and laying the guilt of it to the obſtinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the teſt, and their ſetting up the indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences as a point of greater importance than the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of king *Charles* I, in their *calve's-head clubs*, their common diſcourſes, and their pamphlets; their denying

nying the unnatural war raiſed againſt that prince, to have been a rebellion; their juſtifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their induſtry in publiſhing and ſpreading ſeditious and republican tracts, ſuch as *Ludlow's Memoirs*, *Sidney of Government*, and many others; their endleſs lopping of the prerogative and mincing into nothing her majeſty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: however thoſe important words having by dextrous management, been found of mighty ſervice to the cauſe, although applied with little colour, either of reaſon or juſtice; I have been conſidering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *popery*, which is the firſt of theſe; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any ſett of men among us, except the profeſſors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the queſtion is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the *whigs*, be moſt likely to make

way

way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at *Rome*, for bringing over *England* into the boſom of the catholick church, one of the chief was to ſend jeſuits, and other emiſſaries, in lay habits; who perſonating *tradeſmen* and *mechanicks* ſhould mix with the people, and under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation* endeavour to divide us into as many ſects as poſſible; which would either put us under the neceſſity of returning to our old errors to preſerve *peace* at home; or by our *diviſions* make way for ſome powerful neighbour, with the aſſiſtance of the *pope's* permiſſion and a conſecrated banner, to *convert* and *enſlave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politicks (and it was the beſt the *jeſuit ſchools* could invent) I appeal to any man, whether the *whigs*, for many years paſt, have not been employed in the very ſame work? They profeſſed on all occaſions, that they knew no reaſon why any one ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law, more than another; or why employments ſhould be confined

to

to the religion of the magiſtrate, and that called the *church eſtabliſhed.* The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man for the ſake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *diſcipline*, ſhould be denied the liberty of ſerving his country: as if places would go a begging, unleſs *browniſts*, *familiſts*, *ſweet ſingers*, *quakers*, *anabaptiſts*, and *muggletonians* would take them off our hands.

I have been ſometimes imagining this ſcheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to ſee half a dozen *ſweet ſingers* on the bench in their ermines, and two or three *quakers* with their white ſtaves at court. I can only ſay, this project is the very counter-part of the late king *James's* deſign, which he took up as the beſt method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *univerſal liberty of conſcience*, and that no difference in religion ſhould make any in his favour. Accordingly, to ſave appearances, he dealt ſome employments among *diſſenters* of moſt denominations; and what he did was no doubt in purſuance of the beſt advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church

church thought it the moſt dangerous ſtep he could take for her deſtruction. It is true king *James* admitted *papiſts* among the reſt, which the *whigs* would not: but this is ſufficiently made up by a material circumſtance, wherein they ſeem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conſcience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the claſſes of *free-thinkers* (which the nice conſcience of a *popiſh prince* would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overſeen; becauſe it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow ſtep from *atheiſm* to the other extreme, *ſuperſtition*. So that upon the whole, whether the *whigs* had any real deſign of bringing in *popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the moſt effectual ſtep towards it; and if the *jeſuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter ſcholars.

Their ſecond accuſation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes; and promote enſlaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by inſtances, producing the particular

cular opinions of certain divines in king *Charles* II's reign, a decree of *Oxford univerſity*, and ſome few writers ſince the *revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which thoſe who affirm, did I believe never intend ſhould include *arbitrary power*. However, although I am ſenſible that it is not reckoned prudent in a diſpute to make any conceſſions without the laſt neceſſity; yet I do agree, that in my own private opinion ſome writers did carry that tenet of *paſſive obedience* to a heighth, which ſeemed hardly conſiſtent with the liberties of a country, whoſe laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the conſent of the whole people; I mean not thoſe, who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legiſlature; but ſuch as fix it entirely in the prince's perſon. This laſt hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abſtracted from their ſenate.

By thus freely declaring my own ſentiments of *paſſive obedience*, it will at leaſt appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occaſion pretend to ſpeak their ſentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houſes, and the preſent miniſtry (if thoſe be a party) ſeem to me in all their proceedings to purſue the real intereſt of church and ſtate; and if I ſhould happen to differ from particular perſons among them in a ſingle notion about government, I ſuppoſe they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an anſwer once for all to the tedious ſcurrilities of thoſe idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I muſt here inform them, that their *cenſure* is an effect of their *principles*. The preſent miniſtry are under no neceſſity of employing proſtitute pens; they have no dark deſigns to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But (to return) ſuppoſe two or three private divines under *king Charles the ſecond* did a little overſtrain the *doctrine of paſſive obedience* to princes; ſome allowance might be given to the memory of that

*unnatural rebellion* againſt his father, and the diſmal conſequences of *reſiſtance*. It is plain by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never deſigned to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *whigs* and *diſſenters* to be exactly of the ſame political faith; let us therefore ſee, what ſhare each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifeſt, that the *fanaticks* made *Cromwell* the moſt abſolute tyrant in *Chriſtendom*. The *rump* aboliſhed the *houſe of lords*, the *army* aboliſhed the *rump*, and by this army of *ſaints* he governed. The *diſſenters* took liberty of conſcience and employments from the late king *James*, as an acknowledgment of his *diſpenſing power*; which makes a king of *England* as abſolute as the *Turk*. The *whigs* under the late king perpetually declared for keeping up a ſtanding army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the firſt and great ſtep to the ruin of liberty. They were beſides diſcovering every day their inclinations to deſtroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies

againſt the biſhops ſitting in the *houſe of peers*; which was exactly copying after their predeceſſors of *forty one.* I need not ſay, their real intentions were to make the king abſolute; but whatever be the deſigns of innovating men, they uſually end in a tyranny; as we may ſee by an hundred examples in *Greece*, and in the later commonwealths of *Italy* mentioned by *Machiavel.*

In the third place, the *whigs* accuſe us of a deſign to bring in the *pretender*; and to give it a greater air of probability, they ſuppoſe the QUEEN to be a party in this deſign; which however is no very extraordinary ſuppoſition in thoſe, who have advanced ſuch ſingular paradoxes concerning *Greg* and *Guiſcard.* Upon this article their charge is general without ever offering to produce an inſtance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *whigs* are his men. For firſt, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the *revolution*, ſeveral leaders of that party had their pardons ſent them by the late king *James*; and had entered upon meaſures to reſtore him on account of ſome diſobligations

gations they received from king *William*. Beſides, I would aſk, whether thoſe who are under the greateſt ties of gratitude to king *James*, are not at this day become the moſt zealous *whigs?* And of what party thoſe are now, who kept a long correſpondence with *St. Germains?*

It is likewiſe very obſervable of late, that the *whigs* upon all occaſions profeſs their belief of the *pretender's* being no *impoſtor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late QUEEN's body; which, whether it be true or falſe, is very unſeaſonably advanced, conſidering the weight ſuch an opinion muſt have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the *pretender* himſelf puts his chief hopes in the friendſhip he expects from the *diſſenters* and *whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were moſt in credit; and he had reaſon to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his ſuppoſed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more conſiſtent with the *whiggiſh* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the pretender?

A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and diſcourſes have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually diſpoſing men to *revolutions:* and this is ſuitable to the famous ſaying of a great *whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*; which, how odd a maxim ſoever in appearance, I take to be the true characteriſtick of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions* he lies down to *reſt:* but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes*, and perpetual *revolutions:* beſides, the *whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at *Bartholomew-fair*, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with ſwords in her hands.

To conclude, the *whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at laſt. How many *pretenders* to wit, honour, nobility, politicks, have they brought in theſe laſt twenty years? In ſhort, they have been ſometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *pretender* at their head.

NUM-

## NUMBER XL.

Thurſday, May 10, 1711.

*Dos eſt magna parentium virtus.*

I Took up a paper* ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe; and if the correctneſs of the ſtyle, and a ſuperior ſpirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I ſhould have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were ſeveral important propoſitions advanced. For inſtance, that *providence raiſed up Mr.* Harley *to be an inſtrument of great good, in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted.* That his *very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and diſtinguiſhing merit, by their unwearied and reſtleſs endeavours againſt his perſon and reputation*; that *they have had an inveterate malice againſt both*; that he *hath been wonderfully preſerved from* SOME *unparallelled attempts*, with more to the ſame purpoſe. I immediately computed by rules of arithmetick,

* The ſpeaker's congratulation of Mr. *Harley* in the name of the houſe, on his eſcape and recovery. See the next number.

that in the laſt cited words there was ſomething more intended than the attempt of *Guiſcard*, which I think, can properly paſs but for *one* of the SOME. And although I dare not pretend to gueſs the author's meaning; yet the expreſſion allows ſuch a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, moſt readers both *whig* and *tory* have agreed with me, that this plural number muſt in all probability among other facts take in the buſineſs of *Greg*.

See now the difference of ſtyles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occaſion; inſtead of ſaying how Mr. *Harley* was *treated by ſome perſons*, and *preſerved from ſome unparallelled attempts*, I ſhould with intolerable bluntneſs and ill manners have told a formal ſtory of a committee ſent to a condemned criminal in *Newgate* to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would ſwear high treaſon againſt his maſter, who diſcovered his correſpondence and ſecured his perſon, when a *certain grave politician* had given him warning to make his eſcape: and by this means I ſhould have drawn a whole ſwarm

of

of hedge writers to exhauſt their catalogue of ſcurrilities againſt me, as a liar, and a ſlanderer. But with ſubmiſſion to the author of that forementioned paper, I think he hath carried that expreſſion to the utmoſt it will bear; for after all this noiſe, I know of but *two attempts* againſt Mr. *Harley*, that can really be called *unparallelled*, which are thoſe aforeſaid of *Greg* and *Guiſcard*; for as to the reſt, I will engage to *parallel* them from the ſtory of *Catiline*, and others I could produce.

However I cannot but obſerve with infinite pleaſure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with ſo many decent epithets, hath been ſufficiently confirmed at ſeveral times by the reſolutions of one or the other houſe of parliament. I may therefore now ſay, I hope, with good authority, that *there have been ſome unparallelled attempts againſt Mr.* Harley: that the late miniſtry were juſtly to blame in ſome managements, which occaſioned the unfortunate battle of *Almanza*, and the diſappointment at *Thoulon*: that the publick

hath been grievouſly wronged by moſt notorious frauds during the *whig adminiſtration*; that thoſe, who adviſed the bringing in the *Palatines*, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly paſſed their accounts for a great part of thirty five millions, and ought not to be truſted in ſuch employments any more. Perhaps in a little time, I may venture to affirm ſome other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the ſame vouchers. And perhaps alſo, if it had not been ſo buſy a period, inſtead of one *Examiner*, the late miniſtry might have had above four hundred, each of whoſe little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of *Neptune's* threat to the winds:

*Quos ego — ſed motos praeſtat componere fluctus.*

Thus, when the ſons of *Æolus* had almoſt ſunk the ſhip with the tempeſts they raiſed, it was neceſſary to ſmooth the ocean, and ſecure the veſſel, inſtead of purſuing the offenders.

But

But I obſerve the general expectation at preſent, inſtead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be puniſhed for paſt miſcarriages, ſeems bent upon the rewards intended to thoſe, who have been ſo highly inſtrumental in reſcuing our conſtitution from its late danger. It is the obſervation of *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, that his eminent ſervices had raiſed a general opinion of his being deſigned by the emperor for *praetor* of *Britain: Nullis in hoc ſuis ſermonibus, ſed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non ſemper errat Fama, aliquando et eligit.* The judgment of a wiſe prince, and the general diſpoſition of the people, do often point at the ſame perſon; and ſometimes the popular wiſhes do even foretel the reward intended for ſome ſuperior merit. Thus, among ſeveral deſerving perſons there are *two*, whom the publick vogue hath in a peculiar manner ſingled out as deſigned very ſoon to receive the choiceſt marks of the royal favour. *One* of them to be placed in a very high ſtation, and *both* to increaſe the number of our nobility*. This I ſay,

* *Harley* and *St. John*.

is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; ſince it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greateſt rewards.

Upon this occaſion I cannot but take notice, that of all the hereſies in politicks profuſely ſcattered by the partiſans of the *late adminiſtration*, none ever diſpleaſed me more, or ſeemed to have more dangerous conſequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent ſo much affected of diſcovering a contempt for *birth*, *family*, and *ancient nobility*. All the threadbare topicks of *poets* and *orators* were diſplayed to diſcover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honeſt or wiſe. Moſt popular commotions we read of in the hiſtories of *Greece* and *Rome* took their riſe from unjuſt quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *Plebeians* encroachments on the *Patricians* were the firſt cauſe of their ruin.

Suppoſe there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood; every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on

*opinion*.

*opinion*. But ſurely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chuſing the beſt companions to converſe with, not being under the neceſſity of practiſing little mean tricks by a ſcanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of anceſtors inciting to great and good actions; theſe are uſually ſome of the opportunities, that fall in the way of thoſe who are born of what we call the better families: and allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their ſide. Nay, we may obſerve in ſome, who by the appearance of merit or favour of fortune have riſen to great ſtations from an obſcure birth, that they have ſtill retained ſome ſordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*, either *inſatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falſhood* and *corruption*.

To ſay the truth, the great neglect of education in ſeveral noble families, whoſe ſons are ſuffered to paſs the moſt improveable ſeaſons of their youth in vice and idleneſs, have too much leſſened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe,

among

among all the reſt, to that *whiggiſh* practice of reviling the *univerſities* under the pretence of their inſtilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the higheſt dignities in a ſtate, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghil; but however, that is not the moſt probable place to ſearch for it. Nay I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is juſt ſo much the worſe for his quality; which at once ſets his vices in a more publick view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other ſide, I doubt thoſe, who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating perſonal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully ſatisfied with, and which no body will diſpute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; becauſe this is a ſecret too eaſily diſcovered: for no mens parentage is ſo nicely enquired into as that

that of aſſuming upſtarts, eſpecially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themſelves with inſolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this ſubject, whoſe philoſophical ſcorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to thoſe that are *royal*, or perhaps took its riſe from a *whiggiſh* contempt of the latter: I am pleaſed to find *two* ſuch inſtances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wiſe polite ſtates both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more obſervable in thoſe who riſe to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty ſolicitude to convince the world, that they are not ſo low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by ſome ſtrained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. *Cromwell* himſelf was pleaſed with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him deſcended from

from a branch of the royal ſtem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel * to be allied to a ſovereign prince in *Italy* †; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a *miſtake* of the graver upon his *tombſtone*.

When I am upon this ſubject of *nobility*, I am ſorry for the occaſion given me to mention the loſs of a *perſon*, who was ſo great an ornament to it, as the late *lord preſident* ‡; who began early to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the *publick ſervice*, and paſſed through the higheſt employments of ſtate, in the moſt difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infuſions*, but were inſtilled into him by his illuſtrious father, and other noble ſpirits, who had expoſed their lives and fortunes for the *royal martyr*:

— *Pulcherrima proles,*
*Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.*

* Sir *H. Furneſe.* † *Farneſe.* ‡ Earl of *Rocheſter.*

His

His firſt great action was, like *Scipio*, to defend his father when oppreſſed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a ſon, who upon the like occaſion would have ſhewn the ſame reſolution. No man ever preſerved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor ſhewed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is ſuch as his neareſt friends may ſafely truſt to the moſt impartial pen; nor wants the leaſt of that allowance which, they ſay, is required for thoſe who are dead.

## NUMBER XLI.

Thurſday, May 17, 1711.

——— *Quem cur diſtringere coner,*
*Tutus ab infeſtis latronibus?*

I Never let ſlip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the preſent miniſtry,

miniſtry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I firſt undertook this paper, I firmly reſolved, that if ever I obſerved any groſs neglect, abuſe, or corruption in the publick management, which might give any juſt offence to reaſonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldneſs which becometh an honeſt man, and a true lover of his country; at the ſame time preſerving the reſpect due to perſons ſo highly entruſted by ſo wiſe and excellent a QUEEN. I know not how ſuch a liberty might have been reſented; but I thank God there hath been no occaſion given me to exerciſe it; for I can ſafely affirm, that I have with the utmoſt rigour examined all the actions of the preſent miniſtry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuſe them of one ill or miſtaken ſtep. Obſerving indeed ſome time ago, that ſeeds of diſſention had been plentifully ſcattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to riſe and ſpread, I immediately writ a paper on the ſubject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of thoſe at the

the helm ſoon prevented this growing evil; and at preſent it ſeems likely to have no conſequences.

I have had indeed for ſome time a ſmall occaſion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconſiderable for a formal ſubject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at preſent to as great a heighth, as a matter of that nature can poſſibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual ſtop ſhould be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiouſneſs of ſeveral weekly papers, which for ſome months paſt have been chiefly employed in bare-faced ſcurrilities againſt thoſe who are in the greateſt truſt and favour with the QUEEN, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names frequently printed, or ſome *periphraſis* deſcribing their ſtation, or other *innuendo's* contrived too plain to be miſtaken. The conſequence of which is (and it is natural it ſhould be ſo) that their long impunity hath rendered them ſtill more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*, whoſe indefatigable

inceſſant railings againſt me I never thought convenient to take notice of, becauſe it would have diverted my deſign, which I intended to be of publick uſe. Beſides, I never yet obſerved that writer, or thoſe writers (for it is every way a *Medley)* to argue againſt any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how ſoon the world grows weary of controverſy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at leaſt have been joined at times in that worthy compoſition; but the out-lines as well as the finiſhing, ſeem to have been always the work of the ſame pen, as it is viſible from half a ſcore beauties of ſtyle inſeparable from it. But who theſe *Medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I ſhall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, falſe wit, abandoned ſcurrility, impudent falſhood, and ſervile pedantry, having ſo many fathers, and ſo few to own them, that curioſity herſelf would not be at the pains to gueſs. It is the firſt time I ever did myſelf the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occaſion likely

likely to happen, that would make it neceſſary for me to engage with ſuch an adverſary. This paper is weekly publiſhed, and, as appears by the number, hath been ſo for ſeveral months; and is next to the *Obſervator* allowed to be the beſt production of the party. Laſt week my printer brought me that of *May* 7, Number 32, where there are two paragraphs relating to the *ſpeaker* of the houſe of commons, and to Mr. *Harley*, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with ſuch an antagoniſt, I cannot let paſs without failing in my duty to the publick: and if thoſe in power will ſuffer ſuch infamous inſinuations to paſs with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I deſire to open this matter, and leave the *whigs* themſelves to determine upon it. The houſe of commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the *ſpeaker* ſhould congratulate Mr. *Harley's* eſcape and recovery in the name of the houſe upon his firſt attendance on their ſervice. This is accordingly done; and the ſpeech, together with the chancellor of the *Exchequer's*, are printed by order of the houſe. The author

of the *Medley* takes this ſpeech to taſk the very next week after it is publiſhed; telling us in the aforeſaid paper, that the *ſpeaker's commending Mr.* Harley *for being an* inſtrument of great good to the nation, *was ill-choſen flattery*; *becauſe Mr.* Harley *had brought the nation under great difficulties, to ſay no more.* He ſays, *that when the* ſpeaker *tells Mr.* Harley, that providence hath wonderfully preſerved him from ſome unparallelled attempts (for that the *Medley* alludes to) *he only revives a falſe and groundleſs calumny upon other men*; *which is an inſtance of impotent, but inveterate malice that makes him* [the ſpeaker] *ſtill appear more vile and contemptible.* This is an extract from his firſt paragraph. In the next this writer ſays, *that the* ſpeaker's *praying to God for the continuance of Mr.* Harley's *life, as an invaluable bleſſing, was a fulſome piece of inſincerity, which expoſes him to ſhame and deriſion*; *becauſe he is known to bear ill will to Mr.* Harley, *to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think him an obſtructor of thoſe fine meaſures he would bring about.*

I now

I now appeal to the *whigs* themſelves, whether a great miniſter of ſtate in high favour with the QUEEN, and a *ſpeaker* of the houſe of commons, were ever publickly treated after ſo extraordinary a manner in the moſt licentious times? For this is not a clandeſtine libel ſtolen into the world, but openly printed and ſold with the book-ſeller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr. *Harley* is generally believed upon the very point to be made an *earl*, and promoted to the moſt important ſtaſtion of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of eſteem he hath ſo lately received from the whole repreſentative body of the people, are called *ill choſen flattery, and a fulſome piece of inſincerity, expoſing the* donors *to ſhame and deriſion.*

Does this intrepid writer think he hath ſufficiently diſguiſed the matter by that ſtale artifice of altering the ſtory, and putting it as a ſuppoſed caſe. Did any man, who ever ſaw the congratulatory ſpeech, read either of thoſe paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them juſt as I have done? Will the author declare

motive than that of conſcience. I know not whether I ſhall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps ſome time may be ſpent in expoſing and overturning the falſe reaſonings of thoſe who engage their pens on the other ſide, without loſing time in vindicating myſelf againſt their ſcurrilities, much leſs in retorting them. Of this ſort there is a certain humble companion, a *freneh maitre des langues* *, who every month publiſheth an extract from votes, news-papers, ſpeeches, and proclamations, larded with ſome inſipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political ſtate of* Great Britain. This ingenious piece, he tells us himſelf, is conſtantly tranſlated into *french*, and printed in *Holland*, where the *dutch* no doubt conceive moſt noble ſentiments of us conveyed through ſuch a vehicle. It is obſervable in his account for *April*, that the vanity ſo predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of *Guiſcard*, than the ſafety of Mr. *Harley*. And for fear we

* One *Abel Boyer*.

ſhould

ſhould think the worſe of his country upon that *aſſaſſin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in *England* than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither maſter of our language, nor indeed of common ſenſe; and who is devoted to a faction, I ſuppoſe for no other reaſon, but his having more *whig* cuſtomers than *tories*, ſhould take it into his head to write politick tracts of our affairs. But I preſume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his inſolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that ſeldom fails of giving ſome vogue to the fooliſheſt compoſition. If ſuch a work muſt be done, I wiſh ſome tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not ſuffer a little whiffling *frenchman* to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and preſume to inſtruct foreigners in our politicks.

## NUMBER XLII.

Thurſday, May 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,*
*Romane, donec templa refeceris,*
*Aedeſque labentes deorum;* ——

SEVERAL letters have been lately ſent me, deſiring I would make honourable mention of the pious deſign of building fifty churches in ſeveral parts of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, where they are moſt wanted, occaſioned by an addreſs of the *convocation* to the QUEEN, and recommended by her majeſty to the houſe of commons; who immediately promiſed they *would enable her to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this ſeſſion; at which time I propoſed to deliver a particular account of the great and uſeful things already performed by this preſent parliament. But in compliance to thoſe who give themſelves the trouble of adviſing me; and partly con-

convinced by the reaſons they offer, I am content to beſtow a paper upon a ſubject that indeed ſo well deſerveth it.

The clergy, and whoever elſe have a true concern for the conſtitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleaſed with one proſpect in this new ſcene of publick affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every ſeſſion of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to paſs without burſting into ſome ſtorm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy eſcape until the next meeting; upon which we reſumed our ſecret apprehenſions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the neceſſities of the church into conſideration, receives the propoſals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidſt all the exigencies *of a long expenſive war*, and *under the preſſure of heavy debts*, finds a ſupply for erecting fifty edifices for the ſervice of God. And it appears by the addreſs of the commons to her majeſty upon this occaſion (wherein they diſcovered a true ſpirit of religion) that

applying

applying the money granted *to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, would in their opinion be the moſt effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to uſe their own words) *be a means of drawing down bleſſings on her majeſty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of thoſe places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful ſubjects will be daily offered up to God for the proſperity of her government at home, and the ſucceſs of her arms abroad.*

I am ſometimes hoping, that we are not naturally ſo bad a people as we have appeared for ſome years paſt. *Faction*, in order to ſupport itſelf, is generally forced to make uſe of ſuch abominable inſtruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is over-preſſed, and cannot appear to exert itſelf; but when that is broken and ſuppreſſed, when things return to the old courſe, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reaſon and religion. The *Romans*, upon a great victory or eſcape from publick danger, frequently built a temple in honour of ſome god, to whoſe peculiar favour they imputed their ſucceſs or delivery: and ſometimes the

general

*general* did the like, *at his own expence*, to acquit himſelf of ſome pious vow he had made. How little of any thing reſembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reaſon among others they have turned to ſo little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was conſiſtent to offer up our edifices only to *thoſe*, whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his ſtead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at ſix thouſand pounds for a church, which is ſomewhat *under* the price of a *ſubject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thouſand ſouls, with the benefit of their prayers for the proſperity of their QUEEN and country, may be almoſt put in the balance with the domeſtick convenience, or even magnificence of any *ſubject* whatſoever.

Sir *William Petty*, who under the name of captain *Graunt*, publiſhed ſome obſervations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *reſtoration*, tells us the pa-

riſhes

riſhes in *London* were even then ſo unequally divided, that ſome were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increaſe of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the deſire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and hath ever ſince continued, have prodigiouſly enlarged this town on all ſides, where it was capable of increaſe; and thoſe tracts of land built into ſtreets have generally continued of the ſame pariſh they belonged to while they lay in fields; ſo that the care of above thirty thouſand ſouls hath been ſometimes committed to one miniſter, whoſe church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in thoſe pariſhes obliged to pay above a groat a year to their ſpiritual paſtor. Some few of thoſe pariſhes have been ſince divided, in others were erected chapels of eaſe, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor ſhifts and expedients, to the infinite ſhame and ſcandal of ſo vaſt and flouriſhing a city, have been thought ſufficient for the ſervice of God and religion,

as

as if they were circumſtances wholly indifferent.

This defect among other conſequences of it hath made *ſchiſm* a ſort of neceſſary evil; there being at leaſt three hundred thouſand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever ſo well diſpoſed: and in a city not overſtocked with zeal the only way to preſerve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as eaſy and cheap as poſſible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger pariſhes the preſs is ſo great, and the pew-keepers tax ſo exorbitant, that thoſe who love to ſave trouble and money, either ſtay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any *chriſtian* country, of ſo great a neglect of religion; and the diſſenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *ſowing tares among the wheat while men ſlept*, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to ſay truth, the way practiſed by ſeveral pariſhes in and about this town,

of maintaining their clergy by voluntary ſubſcriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious conſequences attending it; ſuch a precarious dependence ſubjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary ſpirit and reſolution, to many inconveniences, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wiſdom and piety of the preſent parliament; and a tax laid upon every houſe in a pariſh for the ſupport of their paſtor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a houſe whoſe purchaſe is not reckoned above one third leſs than land of the ſame yearly rent, ſhould not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tythe) to the ſupport of the miniſter. One thing I could wiſh, that in fixing the maintenance to the ſeveral miniſters in theſe new intended pariſhes no determinate ſum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each houſe, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in ſeveral pariſhes of the city

city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his ſucceſſors were to receive for ever a certain ſum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a year. But the lawgivers did not conſider, that what we call at preſent one hundred pounds will not in proceſs of time have the intrinſick value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty ſhillings three hundred years ago. There are a thouſand inſtances of this all over *England* in reſerved rents applied to hoſpitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themſelves, in thoſe payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better diſpoſitions than her preſent majeſty for the advancement of true religion; ſo there never was any age, that produced greater occaſions to employ them on. It is an unſpeakable misfortune, that any deſign of ſo excellent a QUEEN ſhould be checked by the neceſſities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in againſt all the maxims, whereby our country flouriſhed ſo many hundred years: elſe her majeſty's

care of religion would certainly have reached even to her *american* plantations. Thoſe noble countries ſtocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until ſome better care be taken for cultivating *chriſtianity* among them. If the governors of thoſe ſeveral colonies were obliged at certain times to tranſmit an exact repreſentation of the ſtate of religion in their ſeveral diſtricts, and the legiſlature here would in a time of leiſure take that affair under their conſideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her majeſty's reign.

But, to wave further ſpeculations upon ſo remote a ſcene, while we have ſubjects enough to employ them on at home: it is to be hoped the clergy will not let ſlip any proper opportunity of improving the pious diſpoſitions of the QUEEN and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times paſt, they conſider how rarely ſuch conjunctures are like to happen. What if ſome method

were

were thought on towards repairing of churches; for which there is like to be too frequent occaſion; thoſe ancient *gothick* ſtructures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections ſeems in my opinion not very ſuitable either to the dignity and uſefulneſs of the work, or to the honour of our country; ſince it might be ſo eaſily done with very little charge to the publick in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are ſo frequently called. But theſe and other regulations muſt be left to a time of *peace*, which I ſhall humbly preſume to wiſh may ſoon be our ſhare, however offenſive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

## NUMBER XLIII.

Thurſday, May 31, 1711.

*Scilicet, ut poſſis curvo dignoſcere rectum.*

HAVING been forced in my papers to uſe the cant-words of *whig* and *tory*, which have ſo often varied their ſignifications for twenty years paſt; I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral changes thoſe two terms have undergone ſince that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always underſtood by each of them, ſince I undertook this work. I reckon that theſe ſorts of conceited appellations are uſually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themſelves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cauſe, are conſequently the moſt violent partiſans of what they eſpouſe, and in their quarrels uſually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is ſure to ſtick: and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adverſaries at firſt intended for a reproach. Of this

kind

kink were the *Praſini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Hugonots*, and *Papiſts*, *Round-heads*, and *Cavaliers*, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there ſeems to have been a barrenneſs of invention in this point; the words *whig* and *tory*, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been preſſed to the ſervice of many ſucceſſions of parties with very different ideas faſtened to them. This diſtinction, I think, began towards the latter part of king *Charles* the ſecond's reign, was dropt during that of his ſucceſſor, and then revived at the *revolution*; ſince which it hath perpetually flouriſhed, although applied to very different kinds of principles and perſons. In that convention of lords and commons, ſome of both houſes were for a *regency* to the prince of *Orange*, with a reſervation of ſtyle and title to the abſent king, which ſhould be made uſe of in all publick acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the ſucceſſion ſhould immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the laſt king were actually

dead. And although the diſſenting lords (in whoſe houſe the chief oppoſition was) did at laſt yield both thoſe points, took the oaths to the new king, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other ſide; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although ſome of them were of the moſt eminent for abilities and virtue, and ſerved that prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the ſame time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleaſed with the ſcheme of a *regency*, or at leaſt an uninterrupted lineal ſucceſſion, for the ſake of thoſe whoſe conſciences were truly *ſcrupulous*; and they thought there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe of the deprived biſhops, that looked a little hard, or at leaſt deſerved commiſeration.

Theſe and other the like reflections did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *whig* and *tory*.

Some time after the revolution the diſtinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which

which was raiſed by the diſſenters in order to break the church party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raiſed, that the *high* joined with the *papiſts*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *diſſenters*.

And here I ſhall take leave to produce ſome principles, which in the ſeveral periods of the late reign ſerved to denote a man of one or t'other party. To be againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace was all *high-church*, *tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of biſhops was the ſame. To raiſe the prerogative above law for ſerving a turn, was *low-church* and *whig*. The opinion of the majority in the houſe of commons, eſpecially of the country party or landed intereſt, was *high-flying* and *rank tory*. To exalt the king's ſupremacy beyond all precedent, was *low-church*, *whiggiſh* and *moderate*. To make the leaſt doubt of the pretended prince's being ſuppoſititious and a *tiler's* ſon, was in their phraſe *top* and *top-gallant*, and *perfect jacobitiſm*. To reſume the moſt exorbitant grants, that were ever given to a ſett of profligate favourites, and apply them to

the publick, was the very quinteſſence of *toryiſm*; notwithſtanding thoſe grants were known to be acquired by ſacrificing the honour and the wealth of *England*.

In moſt of theſe principles the two parties ſeem to have ſhifted opinions, ſince their inſtitution under king *Charles* the ſecond; and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the *revolution*. But as to that concerning the *pretender*, the *whigs* have ſo far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accuſed of a blunder in the houſe, when upon a certain lord's mentioning the *pretended prince*, his grace told the lords, *he muſt be plain with them, and call that perſon, not the pretended prince, but the pretended impoſtor*: which was ſo far from a blunder in that polite lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed ſentiments of his whole party.

But to return: this was the ſtate of principles, when the QUEEN came to the crown;

crown; ſome time after which it pleaſed *certain great perſons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *tory* profeſſion, to enter into a treaty with the *whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be reſty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor conſent to carry on the war intirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have penſions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whoſe caſe appeared then as deſperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a ſacrifice to the unmeaſurable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that ſhall be nameleſs, who in every ſtep they made acted directly againſt what they had always profeſſed. And if his royal highneſs the prince * had died ſome years ſooner, (who was a perpetual check in their career)

* Prince *George* of *Denmark*.

it

it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time the bulk of the *whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain ſett of *perſons*, than any certain ſett of *principles*; ſo that if I were to define a member of that party, I ſhould ſay, he was one *who believed in the late miniſtry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *whigs* in any of theſe papers, or objected againſt them, ought to be underſtood either of thoſe who were partiſans of the late men in power and privy to their deſigns, or ſuch who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *diſſenters* of all ſizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption and dreaded a change, which would not only put a ſtop to further abuſes for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was paſt; or thoſe who had been too highly obliged to quit their ſupporters with any common decency; or laſtly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets ſo well of *premiums*, and exorbitant intereſt,

eſt, and high remittances by any other adminiſtration.

Under theſe heads may be reduced the whole body of thoſe, whom I have all along underſtood for *whigs*; for I do not include within this number any of thoſe, who have been miſled by ignorance, or ſeduced by plauſible pretences, to think better of that ſort of men than they deſerve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their diſgrace; becauſe, I believe the greateſt part of ſuch well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it muſt be allowed, that the two fantaſtick names of *whig* and *tory* have at preſent very little relation to thoſe opinions, which were at firſt thought to diſtinguiſh them. Whoever formerly profeſſed himſelf to approve the *revolution*, to be againſt the *pretender*, to juſtify the ſucceſſion in the houſe of *Hanover*, to think the *britiſh* monarchy not abſolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not diſpenſe with, and to allow an indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man was content to be called a *whig*. On the other ſide, whoever

aſſerted

aſſerted the QUEEN's hereditary right, that the perſons of princes were ſacred, their lawful authority not to be reſiſted on any pretence; nor even their uſurpations, without the moſt extreme neceſſity; that breaches in the ſucceſſion were highly dangerous; that *ſchiſm* was a great evil both in itſelf and its conſequences; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *ſtate*; that no power ſhould be truſted with thoſe who are not of the eſtabliſhed religion, ſuch a man was uſually called a *tory*. Now, although the opinions of both theſe are very conſiſtent, and I really think are maintained at preſent by a great majority of the kingdom; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the conſtitution, ſo their common diſcourſes and reaſonings turn either to the firſt or ſecond ſett of theſe opinions I have mentioned, and they are conſequently ſtyled either *whigs* or *tories*. Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their houſe would be ſet upon, but diſagreed about the

the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different ſides to defend it; they muſt needs weaken and expoſe themſelves by ſuch a *ſeparation*; and ſo did we, only our caſe was worſe; for in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not ſuddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *ſtronger* one into the *houſe*. I make no compariſon at all between the two enemies; *popery* and *ſlavery* are without doubt the greateſt and moſt dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of theſe have not, at leaſt ſince the *revolution*, been ſo cloſe and preſſing upon us as that from *another faction*; excepting only one ſhort period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicating king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared, what ſort of perſons I have always meant under the denomination of *whigs*, it will be eaſy to ſhew whom I underſtand by *tories*. Such whoſe principles in church and ſtate are what I have above related; whoſe actions are derived from thence, and who have no attach-

attachment to any ſett of *miniſters*, further than as they are friends to the conſtitution in all its parts; but will do their utmoſt to ſave their prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

By theſe deſcriptions of *whig* and *tory*, I am ſenſible thoſe names are given to ſeveral perſons very undeſervedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the leaſt title to the blame or praiſe I have beſtowed on each of them throughout my papers.

## NUMBER XLIV.

Thurſday, June 7, 1711.

*Magna vis eſt, magnum nomen, unum et idem ſentientis ſenatus.*

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealouſies, the ſhameful miſrepreſentation of perſons and of things, that were raiſed and ſpread by the leaders and inſtruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the laſt miniſtry and diſſolution of parliament; if he be a true

lover

lover of his country, muſt feel a mighty pleaſure, although mixed with ſome indignation, to ſee the wiſhes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction intirely diſappointed; and this important period wholly ſpent in reſtoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the ſubject; in reforming paſt abuſes and preventing future, ſupplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, reſtoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the neceſſities of the church; and all this unattended with any of thoſe misfortunes which ſome men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part I muſt confeſs, the difficulties appeared ſo great to me from ſuch a noiſe and ſhew of oppoſition, that I thought nothing but the abſolute neceſſity of affairs could ever juſtify ſo daring an attempt. But a wiſe and good prince, at the head of an able miniſtry, and of a ſenate freely choſen, all united to purſue the true intereſt of their country, is a power, againſt which the little inferior politicks of any faction will be able to make no long reſiſtance. To this we may add one

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additional ſtrength, which in the opinion of our adverſaries is the greateſt and juſteſt of any; I mean the *vox populi*, ſo indiſputably declarative on the ſame ſide. I am apt to believe, when theſe diſcarded politicians begin ſeriouſly to conſider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reſerve their wiſdom for ſome more convenient juncture.

It is pleaſant enough to obſerve, that thoſe who were the chief inſtruments of raiſing the noiſe, who ſtarted fears, beſpoke dangers, and formed ominous prognoſticks, in order to ſcare the *allies*, to ſpirit the *french*, and fright ignorant people at home, made uſe of thoſe very opinions themſelves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of miniſters was dangerous and unſeaſonable. But if a houſe be *ſwept*, the more occaſion there is for ſuch a work, the more *duſt* it will raiſe; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however neceſſary, will *make a noiſe*, and *diſturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in *France*, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of thoſe alterations among us; their joy was grounded

grounded upon the *ſame hopes* with that of the *whigs*, who comforted themſelves, that the change of miniſtry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confuſion, increaſe our diviſions, and deſtroy our credit, wherein I ſuppoſe by this time they are *equally* undeceived.

But this long ſeſſion being in a manner ended, which ſeveral circumſtances and one *accident* altogether unforeſeen, have drawn out beyond the uſual time; it may be ſome ſmall piece of juſtice to ſo excellent an aſſembly barely to mention a few of thoſe great things they have done for the ſervice of their QUEEN and country, which I ſhall take notice of juſt as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to ſuffer by a diſcount upon *Exchequer* bills, which have been generally reckoned the ſureſt and moſt ſacred of all ſecurities. The preſent *lord treaſurer*, then a member of the houſe of commons, propoſed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raiſing them to a *par* with *ſpecie*; and ſo they have ever ſince continued.

The *britiſh* colonies of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtopher's* had been miſerably plundered by the *french*, their houſes burnt, their plantations deſtroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away priſoners; they had often for ſome years paſt applied in vain for relief from hence; until the preſent parliament, conſidering their condition as a caſe of juſtice and mercy, voted them one hundred thouſand pounds by way of recompence in ſome manner for their ſufferings.

Some perſons, whom the voice of the nation authorizeth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions under the name of *palatines*, who underſtood no trade or handicraft, yet rather choſe to beg than labour; who, beſides infeſting our ſtreets, bred contagious diſeaſes, by which we loſt in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The houſe of commons, as a remedy againſt this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which to the ſurprize of moſt people was rejected by the lords.

And

And upon this occaſion I muſt allow myſelf to have been juſtly rebuked by one of my weekly moniters for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the commons being diſappointed, took care however to ſend many of the *palatines* away, and to repreſent their being invited over as a pernicious counſel.

The *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to ſerve in parliament, who have not ſome eſtate in land either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion, is perhaps the greateſt ſecurity that ever was contrived for preſerving the conſtitution, which otherwiſe might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *monied* intereſt. And ſince much the greateſt part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land or from its productions, it is but common juſtice, that thoſe, who are the proprietors, ſhould appoint what portion of it ought to go to the ſupport of the publick; otherwiſe the engroſſers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themſelves never touch with one of their fingers.

The publick debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for, and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late *chancellor of the Exchequer**, [illegible] to his transcendent genius for publick affairs, proposed a fund to be [illegible] for that immense debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature hath appointed commissioners of accompts to inspect into past mismanagements of the publick money, and prevent them for the future.

I have in a former paper mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in

* [illegible]

*London*

*London* and *Weſtminſter* with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjuſt to conceal my lord *high treaſurer's* concern for religion, which hath extended even to another kingdom: his lordſhip having ſome months ago obtained of her majeſty the firſt fruits and tenths to the clergy of *Ireland*, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here*.

The act for carrying on a trade to the *South-ſea*, propoſed by the ſame great perſon, whoſe thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with ſucceſs, on the good of his country, will in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlaſting honour to the preſent parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that ſeaſonable law againſt exceſſive gaming; the putting a ſtop to that ſcandalous fraud of falſe muſters in the guards; the diligent and effectual enquiry made by the commons into ſeveral groſs abuſes. I might

* See the author's letters to archbiſhop *King*.

produce many inſtances of their impartial juſtice in deciding controverted elections againſt *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might ſhew their chearful readineſs in granting ſuch vaſt ſupplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the QUEEN; and laſtly, that repreſentation made to her majeſty from the houſe of commons, diſcovering ſuch a ſpirit and diſpoſition in that noble aſſembly to redreſs all thoſe evils, which a long male-adminiſtration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that truſting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further in the compaſs of this paper, than to give the world ſome general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great aſſembly hath diſcharged the truſt of thoſe, who ſo freely choſe them; and what we may reaſonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wiſdom, and loyalty of ſuch excellent patriots in a time ſo fruitful of occaſions to exert the greateſt abilities.

And

And now I conceive the main deſign I had in writing theſe papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the QUEEN proceeded with the higheſt wiſdom in changing her miniſtry and parliament; that under a former adminiſtration the greateſt abuſes of all kinds were committed, and the moſt dangerous attempts againſt the conſtitution for ſome time intended. The whole kingdom finds the preſent perſons in power directly and openly purſuing the true ſervice of their QUEEN and country; and to be ſuch, whom their moſt bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetouſneſs, ambition, pride, inſolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, thoſe little barking curs, which have ſo conſtantly purſued me, I take to be of no further conſequence to what I have written, than the ſcoffing ſlaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no ſtop or diſturbance in the ſhow. However, if thoſe perpetual

ſnarlers againſt me had the ſame deſign, I muſt own they have effectually compaſſed it; ſince nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the ſame ſpecies with creatures capable of uttering ſo much ſcurrility, dulneſs, falſhood, and impertinence, to the ſcandal and diſgrace of human nature *.

* As N° 13 was the firſt of theſe papers written by Dr. *Swift*, N° 44 was the laſt. Six more have been printed in the *Iriſh* Edition, which is a proof among many others, that He was not the Editor. In a Letter of his to *Stella*, dated *June* 7th, 1711, the day on which the *Examiner* N° 44 was publiſhed, there is the following paragraph: "As for the "*Examiner*, I have heard a whiſper, that after that of this day, "which tells what this parliament has done, you will hardly find "them ſo good; I propheſy they will be traſh for the future; "and methinks in this day's *Examiner* the Author talks doubtfully, as if he would write no more, ſo that if they go on, "they may probably be by ſome other hand; which in my "opinion is a thouſand pities; but who can help it? Obſerve "whether the change be diſcovered in *Dublin*; only for your "own curioſity." In a ſubſequent Letter, dated *Auguſt*, 24th he ſays, "the *Examiner* has been down this Month, and "was very ſilly the five or ſix laſt papers."

SOME

SOME

# ADVICE

Humbly offered to the

# MEMBERS

OF THE

# OCTOBER CLUB.

In a LETTER from a PERSON of HONOUR.

Written in the Year MDCCXI.

# THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the year, when her late majeſty of bleſſed memory thought proper to change her miniſtry, and brought in Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and ſome others; the firſt of theſe being made an earl and lord treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends for not making a general ſweep of all the *whigs*, as the latter did of their adverſaries upon her majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to conſult upon ſome methods, that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch in removing all of the *whig* leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy members, the reſt of the

[illegible] the treasurer partly [illegible] those who [illegible] than moderate men [illegible] It was well known, [illegible] met a consider- [illegible] a publick- [illegible] them very [illegible] treasurer's [illegible] with many of those very reasons, which are urged in the following discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alledged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist [illegible] because there were many employments to be bestowed, which re- [illegible] that several gen- [illegible] who possessed them, had been long [illegible] her majesty, had ne- [illegible] party men, and were [illegible] honest measures for [illegible] queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would [illegible] recommend to her ma- jesty such gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state his friends

friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the earl proceeded in procuring employments for thoſe, who deſerved them by their honeſty and abilities to execute them; which I confeſs to have been a ſingularity not very likely to be imitated. However the gentlemen of this club ſtill continued uneaſy that no quicker progreſs was made in removals, until thoſe who were leaſt violent began to ſoften a little, or by dividing them the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty we have been aſſured, that the following diſcourſe was very ſeaſonably publiſhed with great ſucceſs, ſhewing the difficulties that the earl of *Oxford* lay under, and his real deſire, that all perſons in employment ſhould be true loyal churchmen, zealous for her majeſty's honour and ſafety, as well as for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of *Hanover*, if the queen ſhould happen to die without iſſue. This diſcourſe having been publiſhed about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally underſtood without ſome expla-

nation, which we have now endeavoured to give, becauſe it ſeems a point of hiſtory too material to be loſt. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the ſuppoſed author.

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SOME

# ADVICE

Humbly offered to the

# MEMBERS

OF THE

# OCTOBER CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the firſt inſtitution of your ſociety, I have always thought you capable of the greateſt things. Such a number of perſons, members of parliament, true lovers of our conſtitution in church and ſtate, meeting at certain times, and mixing buſineſs and converſation together without the forms and conſtraint neceſſary to be obſerved in publick aſſemblies, muſt very much improve each others underſtanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourſelves againſt any deſigns of the oppoſite party. Upon the opening of this ſeſſion an incident hath happened, to provide againſt the conſequences whereof will require your utmoſt

vigilance and application. All this laſt ſummer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while thoſe on our ſide were dropped, as if we had no farther occaſion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever ſince; and thereby have endeavoured in ſome ſort to turn thoſe arts againſt us, which had been ſo effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonſtration of their ſuperior ſkill at intrigue; to make a ſtratagem ſucceed a ſecond time, and this even againſt thoſe who firſt tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care without ſtraining a very *tender point*, which thoſe chiefly concerned avoided by all means, becauſe it might ſeem a counterpart of what they had ſo much condemned in their predeceſſors; although it is certain the two caſes were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been ſafe, for there was no other danger in

view: but the conſequences of this were foreſeen from the beginning; and thoſe who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a maſter-piece of prudence in this caſe to have made a *friend* of an *enemy*. But whether that were poſſible to be compaſſed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accommodation was rendered deſperate by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at *Windſor*, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that ſituation of affairs; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great miniſter. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that in a particular, where the honour and intereſt of a *huſband* were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a *wife*, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, although ſhe neither loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from *domeſtick tyranny*, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain *early* practiſed in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it ſafe to count upon the weakneſs of any man's underſtanding, who is thoroughly poſſeſſed

with the ſpirit of revenge to ſharpen his invention: nothing elſe is required beſides *obſequiouſneſs* and *aſſiduity*; which, as they are often the talents of thoſe who have no better, ſo they are apt to make impreſſions upon the *beſt* and *greateſt minds*.

It was no ſmall advantage to the *deſigning party*, that ſince the adventure at *Windſor* the *perſon on whom we ſo much depend* was long abſent by ſickneſs; which hindered him from purſuing thoſe meaſures, that miniſters are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themſelves againſt an irritated faction. The *negotiators* on the other ſide improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmoſt; and by an unparallelled boldneſs, accompanied with many falſhoods, perſuaded certain lords (who were already in the ſame principle, but were afraid of making a wrong ſtep, leſt it ſhould *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt)* that voting in appearance againſt the court would be the ſafeſt courſe to avoid the danger they moſt apprehended, which was that of loſing their penſions; and their opinions, when produced, would by ſeemingly contradicting

tradicting their intereſt have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This with ſome arguments of more *immediate power* went far in producing that ſtrange unexpected turn we have ſo lately ſeen, and from which our adverſaries reckoned upon ſuch wonderful effects; and ſome of them, particularly my lord chief juſtice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate cauſes of this deſertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at leaſt not have ſucceeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the miniſters had different views, or at leaſt were not ſo firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly ſaid, and I ſuppoſe not without ſome ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were diſcontented to find ſo *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earneſt*; that they expected to ſee a *thorough change* with reſpect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with perſons of good principles,

there

there would be fewer complaints and leſs danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all laſt ſummer, and even to the opening of the ſeſſion, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by ſome in favour of the miniſtry, that it was impoſſible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one nineteen would be diſobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deſerve: but this again was eſteemed a very ſhallow policy, which was too eaſily ſeen through, muſt ſoon come to an end, and would cauſe a general diſcontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed, conſidering the ſhort life of miniſters in our climate, it was with ſome reaſon thought a little hard, that thoſe for whom any employment was intended, ſhould by ſuch a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a miniſtry is beſt confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its intereſt.

I have ſet this cauſe of complaint in the ſtrongeſt light, although my deſign is to endeavour that it ſhould have no manner

of

of weight with you, as I am confident our adverſaries counted upon, and do ſtill expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething to this objection, which in all appearance lieth ſo hard upon the preſent miniſtry. What ſhall I offer upon ſo tender a point? How ſhall I convey an anſwer that none will apprehend, except thoſe for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great miniſters upon ſeveral accounts; but never ſo much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be anſwerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the preſent, until it is too late. This letter is ſent you, *gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a perſon uninformed, although for the reſt as little concerned in point of intereſt for any change of miniſtry, as moſt others of his fellow-ſubjects. I may therefore aſſume ſo much to myſelf, as to deſire you will depend upon it, that a ſhort time will make manifeſt, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to ſee

you

you place it. The wiſeſt man, who is not very near the ſpring of affairs, but views them only in their iſſues and events, will be apt to fix applauſes and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cauſe of a weakneſs, that I never yet knew great miniſters without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: for if a perſon of the beſt underſtanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not maſter of all the circumſtances, (which perhaps are not to be told) it is a hundred to one but he runs into an abſurdity: from whence it is, that miniſters falſly conclude themſelves to be equally wiſer than others in general things, where the common reaſon of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably leſs byaſſed than theirs. I have known a a great man of excellent parts blindly purſue a point of no importance, againſt the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have ſeen great abilities rendered utterly uſeleſs by unaccountable and unneceſſary delay, and by difficulty of acceſs, by which a thouſand opportunities are ſuffered to eſcape. I have obſerved the *ſtrongeſt ſhoulders* to ſink under

der too great a load of buſineſs, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. Theſe and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to diſcern, as well as lament; and wherein the wiſeſt miniſter may receive advice from others of inferior underſtanding. But in thoſe actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumſtances, it is hardly poſſible, that our judgment ſhould not be miſtaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a meaſure taken, which hath afterwards proved the only one that could poſſibly have ſucceeded. Nay, I have known thoſe very men, who have formerly been in the ſecret of affairs, when a new ſett of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plauſible manner upon what was paſſing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occaſions may have been given for complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, thoſe complaints ſhould not be carried ſo far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at firſt was a great deal

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there is good reaſon to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that theſe *impediments* will in a ſhort time effectually be removed: and one great motive to haſten the removal of them will doubtleſs be the reflection upon thoſe dangerous conſequences, which had like to have enſued upon not removing them before. Beſides, after ſo plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to ſerve as opportunities to the inſatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itſelf, and diſarm its oppoſers, at leaſt of all *offenſive weapons*.

Conſider if you pleaſe, how hard beſet the preſent miniſtry hath been on every ſide: by the impoſſibility of carrying on the war any longer without taking the moſt deſperate courſes; or of recovering *Spain* from the houſe of *Bourbon*, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction againſt any peace without that condition, which the moſt knowing among themſelves allowed to be impracticable; by the ſecret cabals

of foreign miniſters, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and ſpirited up a ſinking faction to blaſt all our endeavours for peace with thoſe popular reproaches of *France* and the *pretender*; not to mention the danger they have been in from private *inſinuations of ſuch a nature* as it was almoſt impoſſible to fence againſt. Theſe clouds now begin to blow over, and thoſe who *are at the helm* will have leiſure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverſe party, conſiſteth of an union ſo monſtrous and unnatural, that in a little time it muſt of neceſſity fall to pieces. The *diſſenters* with reaſon think themſelves betrayed and ſold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the preſent *bill* againſt *occaſional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuſe too groſs to paſs; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining ſections of the party have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour againſt thoſe in power, without agreeing in any other common

common intereſt, not cemented by principle or perſonal friendſhip: I ſpeak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court enmities are as inconſtant as its friendſhips, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the ſcars remaining of former animoſities, I am perſuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know ſeveral of them, who will never pardon thoſe with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they ſee the preſent miniſtry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold ſcent*, or playing a *deſperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other ſide, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruiſes of their fall, which pain them afreſh ſince their late *diſappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themſelves; and it behoves all, who have any regard for the ſafety of the QUEEN or her kingdom, to join unanimouſly againſt an adverſary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the firſt opportunity that ſhall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, becauſe that party ſeem yet to have a reſerve of

hope in the *ſame quarter from whence their laſt reinforcement came.* Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs ſo much as a diſagreement among ourſelves founded upon a jealouſy of the miniſtry, who I think need no better a teſtimony of their good intentions, than the inceſſant *rage* of the *party-leaders* againſt them.

There is one fault which both ſides are apt to charge upon themſelves, and very generouſly commend their adverſaries for the contrary virtue. The *tories* acknowledge, that the *whigs* out-did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *whigs* allow the ſame to the *tories.* I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtleſs the *tories* are leſs vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiſs in *puniſhing*, will probably be ſo in *rewarding*; although at the ſame time I well remember the clamours often raiſed during the reign of that party againſt the leaders, by thoſe who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reaſon on their ſide, becauſe it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit *honour* and *conſcience* for nothing: but *ſurely* the caſe is very different at this

time,

time, when whoever adheres to the administration, doth ſervice to GOD, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private intereſt and ſafety.

But if the *whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it muſt be avowed likewiſe, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the ſervice of their party, even when abſtracted from any private advantage, as might be obſerved in a thouſand inſtances; for which I would likewiſe commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cauſe* than a good one.

The perpetual diſcord of factions, with ſeveral changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country party*, which uſed to be the old diviſion, ſeems now to be ceaſed, or ſuſpended for *better times* and *worſe princes*. The QUEEN and miniſtry are at this time fully in the true intereſt of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a ſide; and the *whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nurſed up by the *neceſſities* or *miſtakes* of a late good, although un-

*unexperienced prince. Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces againſt theſe common enemies, until they are entirely diſperſed and diſabled. It is enough to arm ourſelves againſt them, when we conſider that the greateſt misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would moſt anſwer their *intereſt* and their *wiſhes*; a perpetual war increaſes their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church would pleaſe the *diſſenters*, *deiſts*, and *ſocinians*, whereof the body of their party conſiſts. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of ſome, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no diſcontents of an inferior nature, ſuch I mean as I have already mentioned, ſhould be carried ſo far as to give any ill impreſſion of the preſent miniſtry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *gentlemen*, could reaſonably wiſh, it can be imputed only to the *ſecret inſtruments* of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from ſome late incidents more viſibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one *will* now make a doubt, whether a certain

perſon

*perſon* be in *earneſt*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to ſtrike directly at his head.

When it happens by ſome private croſs intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his ſtation, he will however probably deſire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preſerve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common buſineſs of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own diſquiets. Mean time his expecting friends impute all their diſappointments to ſome deep deſign, or to his defect of good will; and his enemies are ſure to cry up his exceſs of power, eſpecially in thoſe points where they are confident it is moſt ſhortened. A miniſter in this difficult caſe is ſometimes forced to preſerve his credit by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of diſcovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of ſhewing an inclination contrary to that of his maſter. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of *delay*, *unſteddineſs*, or *want of ſincerity*. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers either in diſcovering

or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that miniſters may happen to ſuffer for the *ſins of their predeceſſors*, who by their great abuſes and monopolies of power and favour have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the diſtribution of both. And as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not eaſily endure the very appearance of reſtraint, even from thoſe who have been the inſtruments of ſetting him free; ſo it is with the recovery of power, which is uſually attended with an undiſtinguiſhed jealouſy, leſt it ſhould be again invaded. In ſuch a juncture I cannot diſcover, why a wiſe and honeſt man ſhould venture to place himſelf at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the ſafety of his country, and the advice of *Socrates*, to *prevent an ill man from coming in.*

Upon the whole, I do not ſee any one ground of ſuſpicion or diſlike, which you, *gentlemen*, or others, who wiſh well to their country, may have entertained about perſons or proceedings, but what may probably be miſapprehended even by thoſe, *who think* they have the beſt information.

Nay,

Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to ſpeak out upon this occaſion; yet whoever will reaſon impartially upon the whole ſtate of affairs, muſt entirely acquit the miniſtry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or ſuppoſe ſome ſmall part of this accuſation were true, (which I poſitively know to be otherwiſe, whereof the world will ſoon be convinced) yet the conſequences of any reſentment at this time muſt either be none at all, or the moſt fatal that can be imagined; for if the preſent miniſtry be made ſo uneaſy, that a change be thought neceſſary, things will return of courſe into the old hands of thoſe, whoſe *little fingers will be found heavier than their predeceſſors loins.* The *whig faction* is ſo dextrous at corrupting, and the people ſo ſuſceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how eaſy it will be after ſuch a turn of affairs upon a new election to procure a majority againſt you. They will reſume their power with a ſpirit like that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, or the laſt triumvirate; and thoſe miniſters, who have been moſt cenſured for too much heſitation, will fall the firſt

ſacrifices

ſacrifices to their vengeance: but theſe are the ſmalleſt miſchiefs to be apprehended from ſuch returning exiles. What ſecurity can a prince hope for his perſon, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itſelf? He muſt expect to ſee his beſt friends brought to the ſcaffold for *aſſerting his rights*; to ſee his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treaſure* applied to *feed the avarice of thoſe, who make themſelves his keepers*; to hear himſelf treated with inſolence and contempt; to have his *family purged at pleaſure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and ſhadow of a king no longer than his *ephori* ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the inevitable conſequences of ſuch a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will beſt be prevented by your firmly adhering to the preſent miniſtry, until this *domeſtick enemy* is out of all poſſibility of making head any more.

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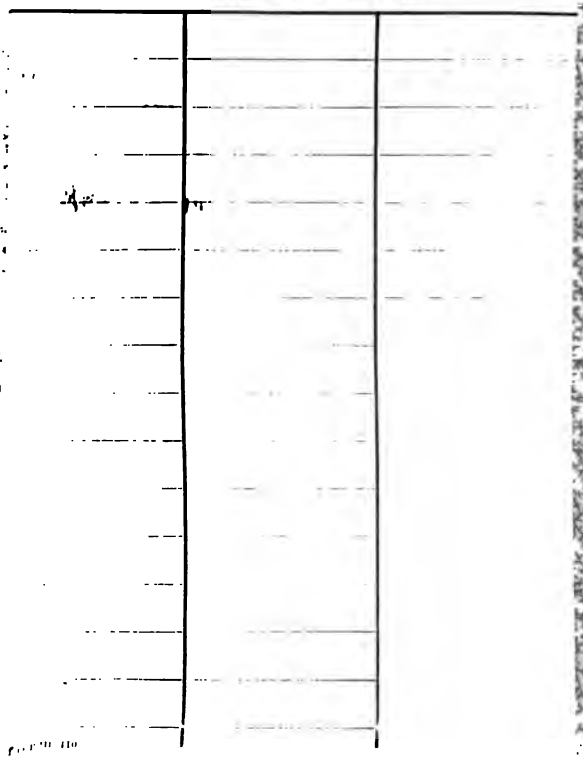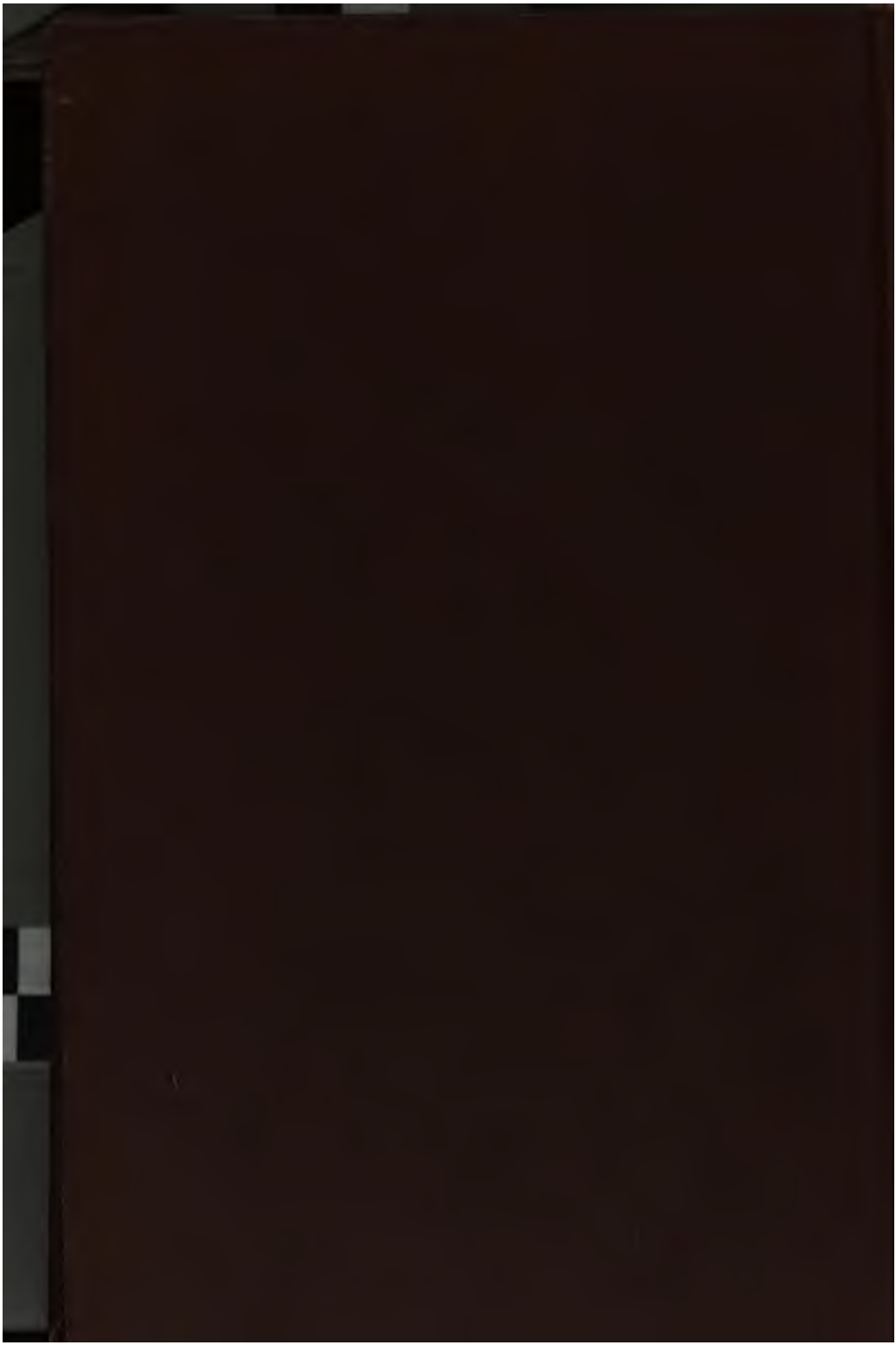
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